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# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 225



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15 October 1981

CHINA REPORT  
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## PARTY AND STATE

### CIRCUMSTANCES OF LIN BIAO PLANE CRASH ANALYZED

Beijing HANGKONG ZHISHI [AEROSPACE KNOWLEDGE MAGAZINE] in Chinese No 9, 1981 pp 26-29

[Article: "The Riddle of Lin Biao's Plane Crash"]

[Text] Ten years ago, on the morning of 13 September 1971, the Lin Biao gang fled in panic, traitors to their country. After their private Trident jet, No 256, crossed the border out of China, it crashed in Wendu'erhan District in Mongolia. Some readers have written requesting this magazine to give some details on the crash and its cause. Because all of the nine persons aboard were killed in the crash, the aircraft was burned, and no tape recordings were found aboard, an answer can be given to the riddle only on the basis of circumstantial evidence. Below we excerpt three relevant documents for our readers' information.

#### 1. Lin Biao's Flight From China

The news of Chairman Mao's sudden return to Beijing was like a thunderclap awakening the Lin Biao gang from their pipe dream of an armed coup. In an instant, the conspiracy which had been painstakingly planned over 6 days and nights evaporated. The gang was thrown into an agony of apprehension, like ants on a hot skillet.

In the villa at Lianhuashi No 96, Beidaihe, an ashen-faced Lin Biao sat silently on the sofa, staring at nothing; the sound of Ye Qun's desolate sobbing was audible to attendants outside.

On the morning of 12 September, Lin Liguang made a telephone call to Beidaihe from Beijing and recovered new instructions on Lin Biao's plan to flee south.

Zhou Yuchi and Hu Ping arranged for eight aircraft for the flight to Guangzhou, and in the afternoon they set a private Trident jet, No 256, to carry Lin Liguang back to the Shanhaiguan Airport; the plane was kept there for the use of Lin Biao, Ye Qun and Lin Liguang.

Lin Ligou and Liu Peifeng boarded Lin Biao's jet. At about 8:00 pm the plane landed at Shanhaiguan airport. They missed the car sent for them from Beidaihe and instead hastily drove to Lin Biao's residence in Beidaihe in a jeep from the airport.

At about 10:00 pm, the security unit in Beidaihe learned that Lin Biao, Ye Qun and Lin Liguang planned to flee traitorously by air on the next day (the 13th) at 6:00 am; their destination was Guangzhou and their intent might be treason. Huang, Wu, Li and Qiu, who were also part of the group, had arranged to take off from Beijing at the same time.

The security unit immediately reported to Beijing.

At this time, Fujian Hall in the Great Hall of the People was ablaze with light: Premier Zhou Enlai was presiding over discussions of the draft "Report on the Work of the Government" which was to be presented at the Fourth National People's Congress. At 10:30 pm, the premier's secretary came to his side and told him in a low voice that the central security office had called and wished to make a report directly to the premier. The premier picked up the telephone and listened to the report. He knit his heavy eyebrows, then instructed the caller to tell the security unit to keep a close watch on the situation and report as necessary.

The premier immediately made a call to Wu Faxian and asked him, "Why has an Air Force Trident flown to the Shanhaiguan airport? Who was on the plane?" He then told Wu Faxian, "Order the airplane to return immediately without bringing anyone back to Beijing."

When he received the call, Wu Faxian told the premier a lie concocted by Hu Ping to the effect that this was a newly fitted-out Trident on night flying trials which had experienced a malfunction while at the Shanhaiguan airport and could not return.

The premier immediately ordered that the plane should stay where it was until repaired, than return immediately.

Hu Ping gave a fabricated excuse for not carrying out the premier's orders, then tipped off Zhou Yuchi, instructing him to call Beidaihe immediately and tell Lin Liguo to come to a decision quickly; he also telephoned Pan Jingyin, the pilot of aircraft No 256 at Shanhaiguan, in order to coordinate their story on the supposed malfunction.

When Lin Biao and Ye Qun learned that the premier was asking about the Trident jet, they were thrown into a panic. In order to cover up their plan to flee south to Guangzhou, at 11:22 pm Ye Qun called Premier Zhou to say that "Vice Chairman Lin wanted to travel."

"By air or by land?" asked the premier.

"By air," Ye Qun answered.

"Do you have a plane there?"

"No."

In reality, Lin Biao's plane, No 256, was then at the Shanhaiguan airport, in addition to an Il-14 that had been dispatched a few days earlier. Why did Ye Qun lie and say that they had no airplane? This let the cat out of the bag.

At that time, Shanhaiguan Airport was under the Navy's command, and the premier immediately telephoned Li Zuopeng: "Aircraft No 256 at Shanhaiguan Airport must not be allowed to leave unless I, Huang Yongsheng, Wu Faxian and you all give the order."

But the order which Li Zuopeng passed on to the Navy at Shanhaiguan Airport misrepresented the premier's instructions as: "The aircraft may take off only if one of the four leaders gives the order."

That night one report after another came to Beijing from the Beidaihe security unit. The telephone in the office in the East Hall of the Great Hall of the People rang incessantly, and the premier went out and returned innumerable times. The meeting in Fujian Auditorium was at a standstill.

After 11:00 pm on the night of 12 September, Lin Biao changed his plan and decided to flee north to Irkutsk in the Soviet Union, i.e., to defect.

In haste, Lin Liguó telephoned Zhou Yuchi in Beijing: "The Head is leaving immediately, so the sooner you act, the better."

At 11:40, the security guard in the villa called security group headquarters to report:

"Now he (Lin Biao) has left the house for the air raid shelter."

"Now they have gotten into a Hongqi automobile in the air raid shelter."

"Now the car is leaving."

The cadres in the security unit immediately hurried out of the headquarters. It was a pitch-black night. A senior official's bulletproof Hongqi sedan turned on its headlights and approached at high speed. In it were Lin Biao, Ye Qun and Lin Liguó. When the vehicle approached the headquarters, the security forces signaled it to stop. Ye Qun shouted from inside the car: "The security unit is disloyal to Vice Chairman Lin! Run them down!" The vehicle roared past at high speed. The responsible persons from the security force pursued in a sedan and a jeep.

The Lin Biao gang's sedan crossed the shore bridge at over 100 kilometers per hour, very quickly outran two carloads of security forces which just a few minutes before had received the order to go to the airfield and prevent the aircraft from taking off, and sped off toward Shanhaiguan Airport. The vehicle drove directly to the Trident, and before it could stop, Lin Biao and his gang tumbled out. Ye Qun, Lin Liguó and Li Peifeng, brandishing pistols, shouted, "Quickly! Quickly! Take off quickly!" Ye Qun with hair disheveled and Lin Biao with his bald pate shining hastily rushed to the aircraft. Without waiting for the passenger stairway to be brought up, they frantically climbed up the pilot's ladder one after the other, with Ye Qun's high heels almost treading on Lin Biao's bald head. They did not wait for the copilot, navigator or radioman to board or for the door to be closed before instructing the pilot to take off without clearance. As they taxied down the runway, the right wing smashed the filling cover of a fuel truck parked beside the runway, shattering a glass light cover and some plexiglass on the right wing. With the airport lights turned off in accordance with orders, and without all of the usual communications safeguards, they made a forced takeoff without clearance at 12:32 am on 13 September in the pitch dark and fled in panic.

At 12:20 am on the 13th, when Lin Biao's plane was preparing for the takeoff, responsible airport personnel made three calls to Li Zuopeng to report that the plane was making preparations for takeoff and asked what they should do. But Li Zuopeng did not give the order to take emergency measures to prevent the plane from taking off.

"Lin Biao has escaped by plane!" the Beidaihe security unit reported to Beijing. This was at 12:32 am on the 13th.

"Lin Biao's plane is flying north," the Air Force headquarters command and control center reported to the premier.

Premier Zhou gave the order to close all airports in the country, to ground all planes, and to search the skies with all radars.

The Air Force command and control center's radars tracked Lin Biao's plane closely, and kept the premier continuously informed as to its position and heading.

"If you call No 256 by radio will they be able to hear you?" asked the premier.

"Yes," answered the controller.

"I want to talk to Pan Jingyin (the pilot). Please put me through," said the premier.

"He has the set on, but he doesn't answer."

"Then please call No 256 and ask them to return and land at either Beijing East or Beijing West. Say that I personally will meet them at the airport."

"They don't answer," the controller told the premier.

In a crafty maneuver, the plane turned westward toward the western part of Nei Monggol. But when it was over western Nei Monggol it suddenly turned north.

"The plane has crossed the border into Mongolia. It's off the radar screen," the controller reported. This was at 1:50 on the morning of 13 September.

Lin Biao was defecting to the enemy! Zhou Enlai slammed down the telephone and immediately hurried by car to Chairman Mao's residence in Zhongnanhai to report. Angrily, Chairman Mao said: "Heaven wants to rain, a young woman wants to marry-- let him go!"

On the 13th, from early in the morning until 3:00 or 4:00 in the afternoon, Premier Zhou personally called the persons in charge in the major military regions and the 29 provinces, autonomous regions and directly subordinated cities to give them instructions, and kept Chairman Mao abreast of the situation.

Everything was now in order. Premier Zhou had not rested for more than 50 hours. It was noon of 14 September. The premier lay down, but it was a long while before he fell asleep. At 2:00 pm, the telephone rang. "This is the Foreign Ministry. We have just received a telegram from the Mongolian Embassy which must be delivered immediately to the premier." When the Foreign Ministry brought the telegram, the secretary hesitated: "I've just gotten the premier to go and get some rest, and I haven't the heart to wake him up. But if I don't, I might be delaying something important." He paced back and forth before the premier's room, but finally tiptoed to the premier's bedside and awakened him. When the premier heard that a telegram had arrived from the Mongolian Embassy, he got up hastily and told the secretary to read it to him immediately. When the premier heard that Lin Biao's No 256 Trident



had crashed at 2:30 am on the 13th near Wendu'erhan in Mongolia and that the eight men and one woman aboard had been killed, he kept repeating in delight, "Ah! All dead! All dead!"



Lin Biao's route as he fled the country by plane.

(From the New China News Agency broadcast "The Bankruptcy of Lin Biao's Counter-revolutionary Coup"; heading and map added by editor.)

## 2. A Conjectural Reconstruction of the Crash of the Trident

At 8:30 on 14 September 1971, the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Mongolian People's Republic made an urgent appointment with the Chinese ambassador. In the elegant phraseology habitual to diplomats, the two briefly exchanged polite observations about the weather, after which the Deputy Foreign Minister informed the Chinese representative without further prelude that shortly after 2:00 am on 13 September a Chinese jet plane had crashed 10 kilometers south of Bei'erhe Mining District in Kente Province, Mongolia. All of the passengers, including one woman, had been killed. He also lodged a verbal protest regarding the Chinese aircraft's entry into Mongolian air space.

The next day, personnel of the Chinese embassy, accompanied by relevant persons from Mongolia, visited the crash site. The wreckage of a Trident jet aircraft lay strewn about a flat, open area about 3,000 meters long with hills to the north and south. On the tail section, which was relatively intact, were the Chinese flag and the numbers 256. One of the shorn-off wings bore the words "Civil Aviation." A gust of wind brought the acrid smell of burning flesh. To the north of the plane, nine bodies lay on their backs, on the ground, with the faces burned beyond recognition, their clothing burned off and their bodies bloated like wax effigies. The comrades from the embassy took out cameras and recorded the scene on film.

But was this an ordinary civil aviation accident? None of the people on the scene realized that they were eyewitnesses to the end of an important drama in modern Chinese history.

Today, 10 years after the "September 13th Incident" was made known, when we look back over this historic event it prompts us to even greater hatred of the Lin Biao counterrevolutionary clique. Let us pull back the curtain of history.

At 1:50 am on the 13th, aircraft No 256 entered Mongolian airspace over boundary market No 414.

What were the passengers doing at that moment?

This was Lin Biao's third trip to the Soviet Union. Of the previous two trips, one was a trip to recover from wounds during the war of resistance against the Japanese, and one was a trip for medical treatment shortly after Liberation. On these two occasions we may say that he went with honor and returned with glory. But this time? Perhaps the next day, headlines on all the world's major newspapers would announce the explosive news: "China's Deputy Commander-in-Chief Appears in Moscow". But this would have been an inglorious defection. As Lin Biao gazed at the dark steppes outside the window, what passed through his mind?

Was Lin Liguo thinking about the pretty girls and vodka in Moscow, or of his lost "imperial concubine," or of the lust for power which he had not lost? As he hummed "Moscow Nights," his voice and attitude would not have produced an attractive impression.

As for Ye Qun, because she was too good at biding her time and hiding her feelings, her real thoughts on this occasion would be hard to guess.

Of course, these are nothing but ugly echoes, not worth our recounting. We have no way of knowing what buffoonish things the people on the plane actually did. Some 10 minutes after the airplane crossed the border, it disappeared even from our radar screens. We can understand what happened next from experts' analysis of the crash site and the remains of the aircraft. The description below is based on these analyses and relevant documents. But we might as well give our thoughts free rein at this point: if the events on board the plane were shown on a movie screen, they might have looked something like this:

Ten minutes after the aircraft flew over the border, Lin Liguo came terror-stricken out of the pilot's cabin and shouted to Lin Biao and Ye Qun: "The fuel! The fuel! The plane is running out of fuel!" If the plane ran out of fuel, the engines would stop, and if they could not land immediately they knew what would happen.

Lin Biao still had that unnatural composure. Ye Qun pulled Lin Liguo into the pilot's cabin, where she saw Pan Jingyin sweating profusely as he worked the control stick. The red light indicating that the fuel was about to run out was blinking on and off. For a moment Ye Qun was speechless with fear. But Pan Jingyin broke the silence, shouting: "We can make a forced landing ahead!" Ye Qun and Lin Liguo stared ahead as though, storm-tossed on the seas, they had sighted a lifeboat. Lin Liguo knew a little about flying and quickly ordered, "Go down lower and look over the terrain!"

The aircraft flew lower. Before them appeared an open grassland three kilometers from north to south with a hilly area on the south and mountains to the north. This was an ideal place for a forced landing. The aircraft turned from its original south-east-northwest course to a north to south heading for the landing. It was now 2:18 on the 13th.

No 256 had been flying 118 minutes since it left Shanhaiguan and had covered 1,080 kilometers. When it took off, the aircraft had 12 1/2 tons of fuel in its tanks. Flying at an altitude of 3,000-4,000 meters, a Trident uses 5 tons of fuel an hour. At this point the plane still had 2 1/2 tons of fuel and would be able to continue flying for more than 20 minutes. Sixty kilometers ahead was a Mongolian military airfield which they could have reached in only a few minutes. But because Pan Jingyan was fearful and there was no navigator aboard and no ground guidance, he could not determine the plane's correct position and did not know that the airfield was nearby. Now all that was before him was the hope of a forced landing.

The plane whistled downward. According to normal forced-landing procedure, Pan Jinyan opened the slots and cut his speed. But he did not put down his flaps, and the thrust reversers were not used, because normally these operations are carried out by the copilot.

The plane made a high-speed pancake landing and began to bounce and pitch. After it had slid 180 meters both wings were torn off, so that it became a pointed metal cylinder and hurtled on at an even higher speed, until the powerful friction forces ruptured its fuel tanks and tore apart the fuselage, all aboard the plane were thrown out, and the grassland erupted in flames.

All this took only a few minutes or even a few seconds. We have already described the crash scene and we will not repeat it here.

At 11:00 on 16 September, 80 hours after the fugitives met their death, they were buried on the side of a large, unnamed hill a kilometer from the site of the crash. Their bodies were placed in wooden coffins and buried side by side in a mass grave 1.5 meters deep. There was no dirge and no tears. There was only the sighing of the wind over the grassland. Lin Biao's, Ye Qun's and Lin Liguang's inflated ambition and insatiable desires were buried along with their remains in this desolate prairie. But at least one of their desires while they lived had become a reality.

Before the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee, Lin Biao and Ye Qun took a solemn oath to wage a common struggle to realize their ambition of usurping power. Lin Biao changed a few words in a quotation from Comrade Tian Han's famous play "Guan Hanqing" and presented the lines to Ye Qun:

"Although we have not both grown gray, our hearts are equally ardent. Although in life we have not often shared a coverlet, in death we will share a grave."

Ye Qun presented a verse to Lin Biao in response:

"I shall never forget your teaching and your kindness, and hereafter I will assuredly follow you to the Yellow Springs!"

If you were to visit the spot now, you would only see a large wooden tablet marking the crash site and a row of small grave markers atop the grave.

But let them rail at New China from their grave! Let them go down to the Yellow Springs to dream their dreams of restoration! China and the world belong to the people!



(Excerpted from "An Account of the September 13 Incident," from SHIDAI DE BAOGAO No 4, 1980; heading supplied by the editor.)

### 3. Analysis of the Reasons for the Crash

At 2:30 on 13 September 1971, a Trident jet carrying Lin Biao as he defected to the Soviet Union crashed in Yide'ermoge County, near Wendu'ergan in Mongolia. The nine persons aboard were killed in the black night in the wilds. They were: Lin Biao, his wife Ye Qun, his son Lin Liguo, Lin Biao's sworn follower former head of the Air Force Party Office Liu Peifeng, Lin Biao's driver, the pilot, a mechanic, a flight engineer and a special mechanic.

When did Lin Biao's plane crash? Because the nine people who could have given a authoritative answer to this question are dead and dismembered, our only course is to rely on others' investigations of the site and analyses of the circumstances.

According to investigations, the airplane was running short of fuel and crashed in an unsuccessful attempt at a forced landing. The reasons for arriving at this judgement are:

1. On the evening of the 12th, Lin Liguo and Liu Peifeng flew in Lin Biao's plane from Beijing West airport to the Shanhaiguan airport. At 12:32 am on the 13th, the airplane took off from the Shanhaiguan airport carrying Lin Biao, Ye Qun and the others. After it took off, the aircraft first flew west with the evil aim of disguising the passengers' intent to defect and giving the false impression that the plane was heading toward the western part of Nei Monggol, after which it abruptly turned north toward Irkutsk and the Soviet Union, crashing en route in Mongolia.

When the airplane took off from Beijing it had only 15 tons of fuel. Because of the Lin Biao gang's hasty escape, there was not time to refuel the aircraft at Shanhaiguan Airport. It took somewhat longer than half an hour to fly from Beijing to Shanhaiguan and consumed about 3 tons of fuel. After it took off from Shanhaiguan, the aircraft flew almost 2 hours and used up 10 tons of fuel. Accordingly, the aircraft tried to make a forced landing near Wendu'erhan in Mongolia with only two tons of fuel remaining.

2. The location of the crash was a level area between two hills. The ground was a mixture of sand, rocks and mud, with grass about a meter tall. This was the best location for a forced landing that could be found at the time.

3. The aircraft's landing gear had not been lowered. None of the bodies of the nine persons on board, who were thrown out during the crash, had on shoes or a wristwatch. Because in a forced landing an airplane always is subject to violent vibration, the passengers must take off any hard objects so as to avoid being hurt by them during the violent vibration. These facts show that a number of preparations had been made for the crash landing.

4. At the site of the crash there was a furrow several meters long produced by the right wing of the plane scraping against the ground. This indicates that the plane lost its equilibrium when it landed, resulting in a fire and explosion. The reasons that the aircraft failed in its forced landing was apparently that there were no lights and that the crew was seriously deficient, lacking the copilot and the navigator, among others. Under these circumstances it is difficult for an aircraft to make a successful forced landing.

5. Six model 59 pistols and an assault rifle were found at the crash site. But investigation of the airplane fuselage and the bodies showed no signs of gunfire, indicating that there was no struggle aboard the aircraft before the crash.

The Lin Biao gang have already sunk out of sight in Chinese history like a wrecked ship. The black night of a foreign land drew the final curtain over the ugly antics of this gang. Their stage was shifted from the vast land of China to the lonely and desolate Mongolian wilderness and only the withering grasses could tell the true story of their fall to earth; but for historians the answer to the riddle can only be inferred from circumstantial evidence.

(China News Agency illustrations by Xu Zhiyan [5641 1807 1639], Article by Pu Yan [2613 6056])

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## PARTY AND STATE

### 'ON PROTRACTED WAR' SAID TO HOLD LESSONS FOR MODERNIZATION

Beijing ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN in Chinese No 13, 1981 pp 3-4

[Article by Qi Zhenhai [7871 2182 3189]: "Scientifically Analyze the Glorious Examples of China's State of Affairs—Study of 'On Protracted War'"]

[Text] "On Protracted War" by Comrade Mao Zedong is an important work on Marxist military theory, as well as being an important piece of Marxist philosophy. It offers us a glorious example of the use of materialist dialectics to scientifically analyze the national conditions of China and Japan, but especially of China, during the war years. Review of this glorious work, "On Protracted War," and study of the philosophical thought of Comrade Mao Zedong have tremendous theoretical and practical value in regards to our correctly recognizing the present day state of affairs in China and traveling a Chinese style road to modernization.

#### 1

The 1930's was a crucial period of life and death for the Chinese people. After Japanese imperialism had swallowed up the three provinces in China's Northeast and part of northern China as well, on 7 July 1937 it abruptly attacked the military garrison at Lugou Bridge in the Beijing vicinity as a prelude to an all out invasion of China with the preposterous intention of subjugating her in one fell swoop. The Chinese people who knew well the calamity of war and who struggled to preserve the nation all thirsted for victory. But could the war be won? Could it be won quickly? This was a tremendous problem that numerous people at that time wanted to solve, but which could not be solved quickly. Prior to the war of resistance against Japan the Japanese collaborationist faction represented by Wang Jingwei promulgated the idea that "Chinese weapons are not as good as theirs. A war would be lost"; during the war, in order to make excuses for their surrender to Japan, they further said that "to fight on is certain death." The faction allied with England and America represented by Chiang Kaishek was forced to resist Japan, but on the other hand they planned to compromise with and to surrender to Japan and on the other hand they fantasized that they could rely on the help of England and America to quickly defeat Japan without exerting great effort.

This situation was reflected within the party. After the United Front in resistance to Japan made up of the Nationalist [KMT] and the Communist parties was established, part of our party members developed a tendency toward rightist opportunism. They overestimated the strength of the KMT and forgot its reactionary

and decadent side. They imagined that we could rely on KMT troops to achieve a quick victory and opposed the principle of the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army carrying out independent guerilla warfare. Some comrades had a tendency to belittle the enemy, believing that the Japanese could not withstand an attack. They failed to see the bitter and protracted nature of the war of resistance to Japan.

In order to clarify the confused thinking both inside and outside of the party, to let all the people of the nation correctly understand the laws determining the development of the war of resistance to Japan and to firmly instill confidence in our victory in the war, from 26 May to 3 June of 1938 Comrade Mao Zedong wrote this important piece, "On Protracted War."

2

Detailed analysis of concrete conditions is the living soul of Marxism. In analyzing the national conditions of China and Japan Comrade Mao Zedong consistently manifested this scientific spirit.

Comrade Mao Zedong first analyzed in detail the general characteristics of the war of resistance to Japan. He pointed out: "The war between China and Japan is not just any war, it is specifically a war of life and death between semi-colonial and semi-feudal China and imperialist Japan, fought in the 1930's. Herein lies the basis of the whole problem." Beginning with these general characteristics, Comrade Mao Zedong separately analyzed the natural characteristics of the two sides. He generally indicated: "Japan's advantage lies in her great capacity of wage war, and her disadvantages lie in the reactionary and barbarous nature of her war, in the inadequacy of her manpower and material resources and in her meager international support." "China's disadvantage lies in her military weakness, and her advantages lie in the progressive and just character of her war, her great size and her abundant international support." It is just these characteristics that have determined and are determining all the political policies and military strategies and tactics of the two sides, and that have determined and are determining the protracted character of the war and that the final victory will go to China and not to Japan. "If anyone forgets these characteristics in studying the Sino-Japanese war, he will surely go wrong."

Both those who saw certain defeat and those who advocated quick victory made just this mistake when they examined the Sino-Japanese war. The defeatists placed too much emphasis on the contradiction between strength and weakness, exaggerating it into being the basis of the entire problem and overlooking other contradictions. They were onesided in their attention to the single comparison of strength and weakness; and they were subjective in taking their onesidedness to be the whole. Those who called for quick victory acted in just the opposite fashion. They entirely forgot about the contradiction between weakness and strength and remembered only the other contradictions; or they exaggerated China's advantages beyond any sense of reality, or took the weakness and strength displayed at one place at one moment in time as representative of overall strength and weakness. Their view was partially blocked, yet they assumed that they could see everything. The common mistake of both the defeatists and those looking for quick victory lie in the fact that they saw only one or a small number of the total contradictions and took them to be all or the most important of the contradictions. This kind of



subjectivity and onesidedness is a tendency in problems of war toward idealism and mechanicalism and is the epistemological source of all mistaken notions. Therefore Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Only by opposing idealistic and mechanicalistic tendencies in problems of war and by adopting an objective and comprehensive viewpoint in examining them can we arrive at correct conclusions about these problems."

The state of affairs of a nation (political, economic, military, etc.) are determined by objectively existing factors. Seeing only factors such as that the enemy is strong and we are weak and that China is large while Japan is small we still could not draw an accurate conclusion and argue down the defeatists, because history has examples of small but strong nations destroying large but weak ones. Because of this, it was necessary to examine the Sino-Japanese war in light of a set of specific historical conditions. Comrade Mao Zedong indicated: Japan is carrying out an unjust war which is reactionary and barbarous in the extreme. Our war of resistance to Japan is a just people's war carried out under the direction of the Chinese Communist Party. The retrogressive and barbarous nature of Japan's aggressive war will inevitably arouse class antagonisms in Japan and antagonism between Japan and most other countries and peoples of the world, causing her to lose support. These are the primary reasons for the inevitable defeat of Japanese imperialism. To this we must add the fact that Japan is a small country, deficient in land, resources, manpower and soldiers, while China is a large country with vast territory, rich resources, a large population and many soldiers. So along with the comparison of weakness and strength we must compare a small, retrogressive nation with meager support to a large, progressive nation with abundant support. This is the reason that China cannot be destroyed. "Although the comparison between strength and weakness means that Japan can overrun China to a certain extent and for a certain period, that China cannot avoid suffering a period of hardship, and that the war of resistance will be a protracted war and not decided quickly; still the comparison of a small, retrogressive nation with meager support with that of a large, progressive nation with abundant support means that Japan cannot overrun China forever, but will inevitably meet with ultimate defeat and that China will not be subjugated, but will inevitably achieve final victory."

After Comrade Mao Zedong had objectively and completely analyzed the connections between the basic factors comprising the national conditions of China and Japan, he proceeded to use the concepts he had developed to analyze the struggle between the enemy and ourselves. He indicated: In the course of the war the enemy's shortcomings can be aggravated and his strong points reduced through our efforts; contrarily, our own shortcomings can be overcome and our strong points increased through our efforts. Only in this way can the strengths of the two sides shift so that the advantage lies with us and not with the enemy. "When a new stage is reached, a tremendous change will occur in the levels of strength and weakness and the situation of superiority and inferiority which will result in the enemy's defeat and our victory." The defeatists, being confused by the superficial appearances of a single moment in time, failed to see that the results of the contradictory struggle between the two sides had, under specific conditions, to undergo a qualitative leap; and those looking for a quick victory then failed to understand that in their changing things must pass through a process of quantitative change leading to qualitative change. Because of this they embraced a gambling mentality and abandoned any thought of a long, bitter struggle with the enemy.

Based on the foundation of an exhaustively detailed analysis of the national conditions of both sides, of the contradictory struggle between them and of the mutual transformations inevitable under specific conditions, Comrade Mao Zedong used the basic principles of the dialectical materialist method to scientifically forecast the entire process of development of the war of resistance to Japan; it had to pass through the three stages of the enemy's strategic offensive and our strategic defense, strategic stalemate, and strategic counteroffensive. Later, the historical course of the war of resistance to Japan was to completely fulfill the scientific forecast of Comrade Mao Zedong.

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The scientific analysis of national conditions is not only a necessary prerequisite for correctly directing a war, it is also a necessary prerequisite for correctly directing economic construction. In a certain sense, economic construction is even more complicated than military struggle. Its scope of involvement is very broad, and it is always difficult in a short period of time to determine the correctness of principles and policy. It calls for us to use the dialectical materialist method to seriously analyze and recognize our national state of affairs and to establish correct principles and policies based on our nation's realities.

In the history of mankind, similar phenomena have often appeared at different times. Just as Marx said: "History is replete with startlingly similar circumstances." A mistaken tendency similar to that of those who called for quick victory in the early years of the war of resistance to Japan exists in the guiding ideology of our socialist economic construction. Since the founding of the nation, we have stumbled more than once in the course of our economic construction. The basic reason lies in our lack of a clear understanding of our national conditions and of the fact that we must make a formidable effort over a long period of time if we want to build our large nation which is relatively backward in terms of production into a strong, socialist nation. Because of this, in our guiding ideology we have always been anxious for quick results, and we have committed the "leftist" error embodied in the doctrine of rapid achievement. In economic construction the mistaken "leftist" tendency of this doctrine, in terms of epistemological source, has characteristics similar to those of the doctrine of quick victory in the early years of the war of resistance to Japan. They both use idealist and mechanicalist theory in place of using the dialectical materialist method to make a complete and objective analysis of the national state of affairs. Those who call for rapid achievement exaggerate the capacity of subjective initiative, relying on subjective willpower to get things done. They forget China's basic national conditions of having 1 billion people, 800,000,000 peasants and a very thin economic base. Such conditions firmly determine the lengthy and arduous nature of our nation's socialist conditions. Only by proceeding gradually and orderly with measured strength can we be sure of our national economic construction. Otherwise we will fail in our haste. We have already suffered much because of this. It is a painful lesson we should have learned.

At present, a small number of people, seeing that our socialist construction has suffered setbacks and run into difficulties, have become discouraged and have lost confidence. They believe it to be impossible for a nation backward in production

such as China to realize modernization. They are pessimistic. This is a manifestation of a lack of understanding of the national situation of China today. These comrades see only the difficulties we face. They exaggerate the contradiction between our starting point and our distant goal, and view it as the whole problem, neglecting the most basic advantageous element which is the superiority of the socialist system. They only see, or they exaggerate out of all proportion, the mistakes made and the setbacks encountered in the process of our national construction. They fail to see that after the people summarize their experiences and absorb the lessons of the past they become more intelligent and wiser and are able to reduce future mistakes and setbacks. They overlook the possibility that under specific conditions contradictions change. In epistemological terms this is another tendency toward idealism and mechanicalism. From this it can be seen that only by eliminating idealism and mechanicalism and upholding materialism and the dialectical method can we correctly understand our national situation and establish correct principles and policies which will give us full confidence in our modernization construction and lead us to adopt stable procedures. This is just the realization we should come to in our study of the work "On Protracted War."

9705

CSO: 4005/893

## PARTY AND STATE

### SOCIALIST SOCIETY'S PRESENT STAGE EXAMINED

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 20 Aug 81 p 3

[Article by Duan Ruofei [3008 5387 7236]: "The Triumph and Development of Scientific Socialism in China--Understanding From a Study of the Resolutions on Some Historical Problems of the Party Since the Founding of the State"]

[Text] The resolutions of the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee pointed out: "Our country has already established a socialist system and entered into a socialist society. Any viewpoint that denies this basic fact is erroneous."

Observation and study of the actual conditions of our society according to the scientific socialist theory of Marxism shows that the present stage of our country is truly a socialist society; the changes since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee represent the development of scientific socialism in China.

Production Relations of Socialism in Our Country Are Based on Socialized Productive Forces

The main argument of sceptical attitudes toward the socialist nature of present day Chinese society is that we have not yet built the socialized productive forces of a socialist society. Whether we have built the socialized productive forces of a socialist society is indeed a basic prerequisite to determining whether ours is a socialist society.

What, then, are socialized productive forces as seen from the theory of scientific socialism? According to the discussion by Marx and Engels, they are the socialization of the means, process and finished products of production. In other words, the means of production are those commonly used by a large number (as Marx and Engels said, hundreds of thousands) of people; the process of production is carried out by division of labor and cooperation among hundreds of thousands of people; and the end products of production are the products of the collective labor of hundreds of thousands of people. In terms of its economic form, socialism is the production relation that mutually suits socialized productive forces. The production relations of socialism are built on the basis of such forces.

In that case, at the present stage does China have socialized productive forces that can build socialist production relations as mentioned by Marx and Engels?



As a whole, the productive forces in our country at the present stage are in a stratified state. However, in the stratified productive forces, socialized productive forces have already reached a certain level. The socialized state of productive forces can be investigated in different aspects. The following figures and materials reflect in different aspects the general state of socialized productive forces in our country at present.

The number of industrial enterprises grew from 170,000 to 348,000 between 1957 and 1978. (In 1978 our country had 500,000 forging facilities, of which 3 were of the more than 10,000-metric-ton liquid press forge type. There was a total of 21 in foreign countries. We had nearly 2.3 million pieces of metal-cutting machine tools, ranking third in the world. Between 1957 and 1978 steel output increased from 5.35 million to 31.78 million metric tons. The ratio of industrial output value to total agricultural output value increased from about 56 to about 72 percent. Electricity is already widely used. (In the 19th century, steam was widely used for motive power among socialized productive forces.) Industries have already been established for machinery-making, automobiles, ship-building aircraft, electronics, petrochemicals, plastics, chemical fibers, and synthetic rubber. Some departments have started to use electronic calculators, automatic controls, atomic power, lasers and other contemporary and sophisticated products of science and technology. Machinery, electricity and chemical fertilizers are partially in use in agriculture. In 1978, the total area in the country under mechanized farming had reached 40 percent, and that with electric pumping 55 percent. An independent and complete national economic system led by socialized productive forces has been initially formed.

These statistics and types of material are far from complete and accurate, but from them one can see that our country truly has socialized productive forces on a considerable scale. According to the scientific socialist theory of Marx and Engels, socialist production relations can be built on the basis of such productive forces. It is precisely because of this that ours is a socialist society with the significance of scientific socialism, unusual stability and strong vitality. It is groundless to assert that we have no socialized productive forces such as those on which Marx and Engels said socialist production relations can be built. Arguments that socialist production relations can be built only as long as there are certain political conditions (certainly this does not mean not wanting political conditions or that political conditions are unimportant), regardless of the state of the productive forces, are not scientific explanations of Marxism.

#### How To Treat the State of Coexistence of Pluralistic Economic Forms in Our Country

When we say that our country truly has the socialized economic forces to build socialist production relations we are not implying that all of our productive forces have reached the level of socialization. On the contrary, we have not forgotten that compared to the developed countries in the world, the level of productive forces in our country as a whole is lower. The level of development of productive forces within the entire nation is very imbalanced. The coexistence of simple handcraft tools with large modernized machinery and automatically controlled machinery systems means that a stratified state of productive forces has been formed.

It is precisely this kind of situation that has determined the coexistence of pluralistic forms of systems of ownership at the present stage in our country. But in any case, our socialized productive forces in the production of the whole country are

already in a position of control; great socialized production is dominant in the economic lifelines of the whole country. Consequently, our socialist system of ownership (including distribution according to work, which is the realization of the socialist system of ownership) enjoys a dominant position and absolute superiority. Also, "this is a light that illuminates all things. All other colors are concealed in it, which alters their characteristics." (Selected Works of Marx and Engels, Vol 2, p 109) Under the strong light of the socialist system of ownership, all other forms of ownership have changed their colors.

In that case, is this society led by the socialist system of ownership and with the coexistence of pluralistic economic forms by nature a socialist society? Or is a society considered socialist only if the entire society completely and purely achieves socialist production relations?

We can make a historical comparison.

Take mid-19th century France as an example. Because capitalist economic relations had long occupied a leading position, the nature of French society at that time was already capitalist. This point is explicitly affirmed in countless references in the writings of Marx and Engels and has been openly recognized by people then and since. Yet in the economic relations of France at that time, capitalism was far from complete and pure and did not have an absolute superiority; the proportion of individual and feudal production relations was still considerable. France at that time deserved to be called a capitalist society. Why cannot China be called a socialist society when its socialist economic relations are in the lead and have absolute superiority?

Actually, everything follows the historical process of birth and development. Social formation is no exception. It is inevitable that a socialist society goes through the course of development from being "incomplete and impure" to "more complete and pure." Today's socialist society in China is still in its childhood, but already it is one that has its own character and the ability to regulate itself. We cannot deny its nature because it is "incomplete and impure," just as we cannot deny a child being a person because he still does not possess all the characteristics and abilities of an adult.

What should be pointed out here is that the course of development of a socialist society from being "incomplete and impure" to "more complete and pure" is a development "based on itself" and not the "period of transition." Regarding the characteristics of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, Lenin pointed out: "This period of transition must concurrently have the characteristics or features of the economic structures of these two societies. This period of transition must be a period of struggle between a dying capitalism and a growing communism. In other words, it is a period of struggle between capitalism which is defeated but not yet eliminated and socialism which is already born but still very weak." (Selected Works of Lenin, Vol 4, p 84) However, our country's present situation is one in which the socialist economy plays a leading role and enjoys absolute superiority. Other economic forms are small in number and play a subordinate role. This basically cannot be mentioned in the same breath with the period of decisive struggle when socialism and capitalism were in a state of "who will triumph over whom." In the

mid-1950's our country victoriously realized the change from the new democracy to socialism. In the present stage, confusing the two intrinsically different historical periods might lead to erroneous application of the categories in the transition period in a socialist society, such as the struggle between two classes and two paths being the main contradiction in the society, and the continued use of "class struggle as a guideline" which would lead to "leftist" mistakes. This is not only a logical deduction but also a truth which we unmistakably understand and which the lessons of history have taught us.

The theory of scientific socialism also tells us that a socialist society is the first or lower stage of communism. In the present stage of our country's historical development it is still a newly born and completely new social formation. Of course, as Engels said, "The so-called 'socialist society' is not something immutable. Like any other social system, we should regard it as a society that is constantly changing and reforming." (Complete Works of Marx and Engels, Vol 37, p 443) However, social revolution as well as social change and reform are after all categories that are different in principle and must not be confused. The former is realized through intense class antagonism and conflict; the latter is carried out through the leadership of the socialist system itself, step by step, and in an orderly way. As a socialist society, we cannot and should not take part in that kind of "continuous revolution" of "one class overthrowing another." (Of course, in no way does this mean that our revolutionary task is complete or that we do not need to carry out our work in a revolutionary spirit. This must not be misunderstood.) The so-called "theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat" and the viewpoint of using a new form to defend this theory (renamed the so-called "continuous revolution under the conditions of socialism") is also a viewpoint denying that the present stage of our country is a socialist society. We must criticize this kind of erroneous point of view.

In any case, we believe that our country's history has already entered a socialist society which is built on the basis of socialized productive forces and is led by the socialist system of ownership with the coexistence of superior pluralistic economic forms. The establishment of the socialist system of ownership is the most profound and greatest social transformation in the history of our country and is the basis of all progress and development in the future. Under the guidance of the lines of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the practice of our country's socialism has attained further development. Any theory that takes this or that form to deny that our country's history has entered a socialist society does not accord with the real conditions in our country at the present stage.

9586

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## PARTY AND STATE

### ARTICLE PRESENTS CURRENT VIEW ON CLASS STRUGGLE

Beijing BAN YUE TAN[SEMI-MONTHLY TALKS] in Chinese, No 14, 25 Jul 81  
p 6-7

[Article by Yan Jing [3601 5464]: "Why is it Said That 'The Exploiting Class no longer Exists as a Class'?" ]

[Text] In the proces of studying the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China" some comrades have asked why it is said that after the socialist transformation of China the exploiting class will no longer exist as a class. My understanding of this problem is as follows:

Marxism believes that classes are individual social groups which are joined by specific production relationships and which exist on different economic levels. Lenin said, "The so-called classes are groups that because they occupy different positions in a fixed socio-economic structure then have certain groups which are then capable of possessing the labors of certain other groups." It is commonly said that there are two conditions necessary for the formation of an exploiting class: the first is exploitation, which means to use one's means of production to carry out economic exploitation of workers who have lost or have a shortage of the means of productions, and thus use the fruits of their labors for self-enrichment; second is for the exploiters to form a social group with common interests. The exploiting classs in history such as the slaveholder class, the landlord class and the bourgeoisie are groups of such exploiters.

After the founding of the new Chinese state, in 1956 under Party leadership the socialist transformation of the private ownership system of the means of production was basically accomplished. This basically eliminated the system of exploitation and basically eliminated the economic foundation of the existence of all exploiting classes as such.

In the old China there were such different exploiting classes as the bureaucrat capitalist class, feudal landlord class, the rich peasant class and the national capitalist class. In the first three years after the founding of the state we first confiscated bureaucrat capital and changed bureaucrat-capital enterprises into socialist state enterprises.



At the same time, we completed a land reform which encompassed almost the entire nation. We confiscated the land belonging to the landlords and the excess land owned by rich peasants and distributed it among the farmers of the nation. This effectively destroyed the economic foundation which the bureaucrat capitalist class, the feudal landlord class and the rich peasant class depended upon. In the aftermath of the Three Great Transformations we implemented a series of state capitalism arrangements in all classes from the highest to the lowest and then finally completed the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce, enabling the means of production owned by national bourgeoisie to revert to state ownership. Although those people who had owned industrial and commercial enterprises still collected their "dividends," they nonetheless lost their authority in and control over the means of production. They could no longer employ the status of capitalist to exert authority in enterprises but rather had the status of enterprise workers. Concurrently, with the victorious implementation of the socialist transformation of agriculture the production condition for rich peasants (small scale family farming economy) also was destroyed. Subsequently, correct party policies transformed the great majority of members of the exploiting classes into self-sufficient workers.

There is a saying that goes, "If the skin is lost what does the hair adhere to?" The "skin" that the exploiting classes relied upon to exploit others and to form a social class was none other than the private ownership of the means of production. After the private ownership of the means of production was transformed into a public ownership system the "skin" of the exploiting class then disintegrated and the class existence of the exploiting class then ended.

After implementing the socialist transformation we carried out a basic implementation of the public ownership of the means of production and began to carry out the principle of to each according to his labors, so that the workers, peasants, intellectuals and other patriots all became masters of society. Although they had mutual differences and contradictions of various types they were not of an adversary nature and there was no fundamental clash of interests. Moreover, these contradictions could all be solved through the continual development of socialism. Under conditions such as these it was no longer possible for one class to exploit another class.

Since the exploiting class no longer exists as a class in China, class struggle therefore is a major contradiction in China. Of course, because of internal factors and foreign influences class struggle will continue to exist for a long time within a certain scope. If we manage things badly and make some serious mistakes it is then possible that under certain conditions class struggle will become quite acute. In society there still exists both remnant and newborn elements who look upon socialism with hatred and there might also be exploiters carrying out exploitation in secret. While participating in political, economic, intellectual and social activities they can carry out

destructive acts and so we must struggle against them. Nonetheless, these elements who are enemies of socialism have already lost their various economic and political foundations of existence and economically and politically can no longer exist legally as a class. Because of this, we must "both oppose the viewpoint of broadening class struggle and oppose the viewpoint that the need for class struggle has already disappeared."

11582

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## PARTY AND STATE

### IMPORTANCE OF CRITICISM, SELF-CRITICISM DISCUSSED

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 3 Sep 81 p 1

[Article by staff commentator: "Promote Criticism and Self-Criticism"]

[Text] Today, the party organizations of the various levels in our province are in the process of intensively studying the "Resolution on a Number of the Party's Historical Issues since the Founding of the Nation" and conscientiously implementing the spirit of the Sixth Plenary Session. These constitute one of the central tasks of the party. Recently, the Central Ministry of Propaganda and the propaganda department of the provincial party committee successively held forums on the ideological front, proposed strengthening the party's leadership of ideological work and changing the slack and weak situation, and promoted criticism and self-criticism to overcome all kinds of erroneous tendencies. It is an extremely important issue which calls for our serious attention.

Criticism and self-criticism are the motive force of the progress of all tasks, the weapon of the Communist Party members in self-reform, and the symbol of our party's prosperity and development. Our need of criticism and self-criticism is like our need of air and water. We must use the weapon of criticism and self-criticism to constantly cleanse the dust from ourselves and preserve forever our revolutionary vitality.

The Sixth Plenary Session set the example of criticism and self-criticism for the entire party, firmly and courageously conducted criticisms and self-criticisms on the party's important historical issues since the founding of the nation, and summarized matter-of-factly the basic experiences and lessons. Ours is indeed a great party; it is indeed a party armed with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong. To study and implement the spirit of the Sixth Plenary Session, we must properly develop the superior tradition of criticism and self-criticism, reinforce the party's unity and increase its fighting power.

Judging from the condition of the ideological work in our province, we find that there are the following attitudes toward criticism and self-criticism: One is welcoming criticisms, humbly heeding the critical opinions and conscientiously making self-criticisms. This attitude naturally deserves emulation,

but unfortunately the number of comrades taking this attitude is not large. Another is being afraid to criticize. Slack and weak, the leaders with this attitude fail to express a clear stand on fundamental issues and distinguish the right and wrong. This condition is relatively widespread. The third is rejecting criticisms, especially criticisms published in newspapers. The moment criticism is encountered, those taking this attitude call it "punishment" and "hitting with a club." This condition indicates that, as a result of the serious destruction suffered by the party's superior tradition during the 10-year internal disorder, the trend of criticism and self-criticism in the party and the cadre ranks has not been properly restored and developed. It is a momentous issue requiring serious attention on all fronts as well as solution on the ideological front.

To promote criticism and self-criticism, we must learn to use the weapon of criticism and self-criticism, overcome all kinds of erroneous ideological tendencies, rectify the defects and mistakes in work, and correctly handle the contradictions within the people. We must firmly implement the party's policy of "a hundred flowers blossoming; a hundred schools of thought contending," while launching correct criticisms and self-criticisms. We cannot depart from criticism and self-criticism when upholding the "double hundred" policy. Then, what is the criterion to determine the right and wrong in ideology and work? It is the spirit of the Sixth Plenary Session, the basic conclusion of the "Resolution on a Number of the Party's Historical Issues since the Founding of the Nation," and the four basic principles.

In terms of today, while we must continue to purge the influence of the left-wing error, we must also combat the tendency of bourgeois liberalism. These two tasks are indivisible and mutually promotive. The former remains an important task, absolutely not to be underestimated or slackened. The latter is an ideological trend in society, and its core is to break away from the party's leadership and the socialist path. In regard to such bourgeois liberal tendency, we must criticize it solemnly and forcefully. Some party members actually propose that they may compete against the Party Central Committee, contradict the party, and ignore the party's call or its discipline. Others promote anarchism and ultra-egoism and spread comments against the four basic principles. Is it conceivable that they can be tolerated? The special policies and flexible measures followed by Guangdong, being more open to the outside, are completely necessary, and the results are good. We must continue to purge the remnant poison of the leftwing ideology, further strengthen external economic activities, and properly handle the construction of the special area. However, we must also realize, at the same time, that the bourgeois ideological influence from the outside has corrupted some party members and cadres. The situation should arouse our vigilance. In regard to the unhealthy trends in the party and in the economic realm, especially in the external economic activities, we must conscientiously launch criticisms and self-criticisms. Under the influence of the leftwing ideology, some comrades, even today, are doubtful, or even resentful, of the party's lines and policies since the Third Plenary Session. For this situation, we must, by means of conscientiously launching criticisms and self-criticisms, enable them to improve their ideological awareness and consciously implement the Party Central Committee's



policies. In regard to the slack and weak conditions of the leaders on the ideological front, we must also conscientiously launch criticisms and self-criticisms, in order to strengthen the party's leadership, giving it both the courage and the skill to lead.

When launching criticisms and self-criticisms, we must learn our party's correct historical experiences and assimilate new ones. We must give attention to the method and the result. Like the Third and the Sixth Plenary Sessions, we must uphold the scientific attitude of seeking the truth from the facts, the policy of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the illness to save the patient," and the method of "unity--criticism--unity," and avoid movements, sieges and aggravation. While solemnly and conscientiously launching criticisms, we must aim at helping those criticized; while promoting self-criticism, we must refrain from forcing others to examine themselves. Only thus will we truly attain the goal of enlightening thinking, rallying the comrades and improving the work. One important point is to start from the desire to unite and, by means of criticisms and self-criticisms and on the foundation of the four basic principles, reach a new unity.

The Sixth Plenary Session asks the entire party to unify thinking, strengthen unity, enhance revolutionary vigor and properly handle production. When studying the documents of the Sixth Plenary Session and the recent important instructions of the Party Central Committee, we must consciously link our studies with reality, summarize the experiences and launch criticisms and self-criticisms, thereby making the party's leadership of ideological work firm and strong, the spiritual outlook of all party members and the broad cadres more vigorous, and the work on the ideological and other fronts of our province more lively, and effectively promoting the development of the four modernization construction.

6080

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## PARTY AND STATE

### 'BA YI RADIO' ON DENG'S CONTINUING ATTACKS ON HUA

OW291251 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 28 Sep 81

[Text] The question of Comrade Hua Guofeng was dealt with by the party long ago. And the 6th plenary session of the party's 11th Central Committee adopted a special resolution on this matter. To continue to attack Comrade Hua Guofeng in various ways on various occasions now is in fact to promote an unprincipled struggle in the party in a disguised form. Particularly Comrade Deng Xiaoping, as the actual leader of the party, government and army, is still criticizing, even exaggerating, Comrade Hua Guofeng's mistakes over and over again. This does not help the unity of the party, government and army at all. Moreover, it makes people wonder if the spear-head isn't pointed elsewhere.

We are not saying that Comrade Hua Guofeng made no mistakes. There were mistakes, even serious ones. However, the main responsibility for several mistakes, on which Comrade Deng Xiaoping places particular emphasis, should not be borne by Comrade Hua Guofeng.

First of all let's consider the issue of the whole country learning from Dazhai. Although Comrade Hua Guofeng presided over two national conferences on learning from Dazhai, it was Comrade Mao Zedong who first started it. Other central leaders, too, should share the responsibility. Take Comrade Deng Xiaoping, for example. He was appointed vice premier in 1974. On 2 October the same year, when receiving overseas Chinese at the Great Hall of the People, he said: Some say that our population is too big and increasing too fast and that our grain production cannot keep pace. They are wrong. So long as we adhere to the line of learning from Dazhai in agriculture, even if our population grows several hundred million more, we still will have enough food, (?including meat and fish). If one-third or one-fourth of the communes in the country learn from Dazhai, China will become the world's biggest granary.

Next let's consider the issue of the personality cult. After the gang of four was overthrown, Marshal Ye [Ye Shuai 0673 1596] said at a working conference of the party Central Committee: "Chairman Mao said that it was necessary to give publicity to Comrade Hua Guofeng. Now, to repudiate the gang of four and stabilize the situation of the whole country, it is necessary to establish Chairman Hua's prestige." In his letter to Comrade Hua Guofeng asking for a job, Deng Xiaoping also made several references to "the wise leader Chairman Hua." On the issue of giving publicity to Comrade Hua Guofeng, everyone spoke along the same line within the party Central Committee at that time.

The issue of the "two whatever's" should also be looked at objectively and in a historical perspective. The slogan itself was wrong. However, then the gang of four had only just been overthrown, and blind faith in Comrade Mao Zedong remained quite strong. Many cadres and people still blindly worshiped him. The remaining forces of the gang of four were still very strong. It was then unthinkable to make such decisions as those made by the 3d and 6th plenary sessions of the party's 11th Central Committee. Furthermore, even the 6th plenary session had great reservations in reaching a conclusion on the nature of Comrade Mao Zedong's mistakes. Therefore, we say that the purpose in continuing to magnify and wrangle about the mistakes Comrade Hua Guofeng made while in charge of the work of the party Central Committee even after a conclusion was reached by the 6th plenary session is obviously not just to attack Comrade Hua Guofeng himself, but to prepare public opinion for the removal of all party, government and army cadres, who were not attacked during the Cultural Revolution and who held important positions when Comrade Hua Guofeng was in power, and for the disposal of all PLA cadres who took part in the "three support's and two military's" tasks and PLA cadres who have connections with those former PLA leaders found guilty and punished in the past few years, before the PLA formally restores the military ranks.

CSO: 4005/12

## PARTY AND STATE

### 'BA YI RADIO' SCORES DENG XIAOPING'S RULE

OW010641 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 30 Sep 81

[Text] On the occasion of the 32d anniversary of the founding of our country, we extend our warm festive greetings to the workers, peasants, cadres, commanders and fighters who are working in their respective fields.

On 1 October--32 years ago--a new country free of exploitation and oppression was founded on Chinese soil. That new country proclaimed the end of the enslavement of the Chinese people by old and new colonialists, especially U.S. imperialists, which had lasted for more than 100 years. Millions of commanders and fighters of our army shed their blood and sacrificed their lives for that day.

In the 32 years since the founding of the country our people have travelled a difficult, dangerous and torturous road. In the first 10 years our country scored splendid successes on all fronts. Those successes could be attributed to many causes, but they could not be separated from our vigorous efforts to oppose bureaucratism and extensively promote democracy. Regrettably, the correct policy and successful experience established and accumulated in the first decade of our country was not followed and applied in later days. But more importantly, Comrade Mao Zedong started to enforce the system of excessive centralism and exercised autocratic rule in the name of democratic centralism. He also branded those who opposed bureaucratism as rightists. As a result, the democratic atmosphere became thinner and bureaucratism became more serious. At the end feudal, fascist autocracy ruled the whole party and country, the people suffered from the catastrophe and socialist construction encountered a serious setback.

Since the smashing of the gang of four, no attempt has been made to learn from past mistakes and completely eliminate the remaining influence of bureaucratism. As a result, our country again suffered huge economic losses and paid a tremendous price. Graver still, key leaders of our party and state, especially Comrade Deng Xiaoping, instead of objectively examining the mistakes in line and policy, continue to use the most disgusting practice of the feudal autocratic period and shift the entire responsibility onto Mao Zedong, the gang of four and Comrade Hua Guofeng.

Anyone with some common knowledge of politics knows that the economy will not develop and society will not progress without a sound political system and a correct political line. In the history of China and the world, no politically corrupt country has ever enjoyed economic prosperity.

Although in appearance there is a division of power into three [San Quan Fen Li--0005 2938 0433 4539] at present, the great power of the party, government and army is actually controlled by one person. Although democratic centralism in essence is a pooling of correct views, the criteria of correctness is now decided by one leader. Thus, the majority is now subordinate to the minority and the whole party is subordinate to one person in the party Central Committee. This is like the past when an emperor called a meeting of his officials and made the decision himself at the end of the meeting, saying: "Your views accord with mine." As the numerous serious mistakes committed by our party in the past were the result of such practice by Comrade Mao Zedong, so are the serious mistakes of today in domestic and foreign affairs the result of such practice by Deng Xiaoping, who inherited it from Mao Zedong.

Comrades, the revolutionary predecessors of our party and army founded new China after decades of struggle. The mission for our generation is to establish a prosperous and strong socialist motherland. To fulfill this mission we should foster the revolutionary spirit of our predecessors and wage an uncompromising struggle against bureaucratic and autocratic style.

CSO: 4005/12

## PARTY AND STATE

### 'HEBEI RIBAO' URGES PROMOTION OF PROVINCIAL WORK

HK010434 Shijianzhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 1 Sep 81 p 1

[Editorial: "Strengthen Unity, Enhance Revolutionary Vigor, Strive To Do a Good Job of Work in Hebei"]

[Text] In the past 2 years since the publication of the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of the Party Since the Founding of the PRC," and with the deep concerns and specific assistance of the party Central Committee, the urban and rural areas throughout Hebei Province have seriously conveyed and implemented the "Resolution." The cadres and masses have been vigorously educated and enlightened, their ideology has been enhanced, and their understanding has unified to a greater extent. The people's mental outlook and attitude toward work have been undergoing profound changes. In order to master to a greater extent the spiritual essence of the "Resolution" and consequently employ it to guide and improve our work in various aspects, we must give play to our party's fine style of integrating theory with practice and link the spirit of the "Resolution" with the actual condition of the localities and the local units. Implementation means integrating the spirit of the "Resolution" with actual practice and solving major problems like a man aiming arrows at his target and not merely expressing support. In criticizing the wrong style of study of separating theory and practice, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: Some comrades only praise the beautiful arrows in their hands, but they are reluctant to shoot them. In studying and implementing the "Resolution," we must abandon and correct this unsavory style of study.

What are the problems that we must solve at present in order to work in close connection with our province's actual condition? The major one is to take the "Resolution" as the weapon, emancipate our minds, continue to criticize leftism, turn chaos into order, strengthen unity and use all this as a basis to construct socialist material and spiritual civilization. This may also be rendered as: unify ideology, strengthen unity, enhance revolutionary vigor and promote production. This is a significant turn in the work of Hebei Province. We have already wasted a few years' precious time since the 3d plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, and we should take the sixth plenary session as a new starting point to rouse ourselves and try hard to catch up. We must effect improvements in various kinds of work and bring changes to the appearance of various aspects.



## Continue To Turn Chaos Into Order, Strengthen Revolutionary Unity

The 6th plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee went down in history with the achievement in the historical mission of turning chaos into order in the party's guiding ideology and gained the warm support of the broad masses and cadres inside and outside Hebei Province.

In light of the province's situation, we are confronted with the tough task of continuing to turn chaos into order both in our specific work and in our guiding ideology. This is mainly the consequence of historical factors. Our province has lagged behind other provinces and municipalities in turning chaos into order, implementing the policies, readjusting the leadership groups, implementing the party's economic policies, promoting industrial and agricultural production and in other kinds of work because the former responsible person of the provincial CCP Committee who had been practicing, for a long period of time, a series of ultraleftist things, did not become aware of or correct his mistakes after the third plenary session and even boycotted the line, principles and policies formulated since the third plenary session. In addition to this, for a long time we did not understand the seriousness of his mistakes nor did we vigorously criticize and promptly correct them.

However, regarding these problems, we should neither oversimplify them nor worry too much about them. If we oversimplify these problems and cannot realize the scope, the duration and the vicious consequences brought about by leftist influences in our province, our efforts in criticizing leftist errors and turning chaos into order will definitely be weakened. However, on the other hand, we should also see that with the encouragement of the "Resolution" adopted at the sixth plenary session and with the strong desire of the cadres and the masses in turning chaos into order, the explicit principles and policies to solve the problems, the concern and direct assistance of the CCP Central Committee and the unswerving determination of the party committees at all levels, we can resolutely and in a planned way accomplish these tough tasks. We have no reason to worry or to have our confidence shaken.

Regarding the handling of leftover historical problems. The implementation of the policy toward cadres and the redressing of all unjust, false and wrong cases, we should properly deal with them after we have distinguished between right and wrong. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "...In all historical stages of a human society, there are always cases of handling errors in such a way. The number of such cases is particularly great in a class society, and such cases are also unavoidable in a socialist society. They are unavoidable whether in a period of leadership under the correct line or in a period of leadership under the erroneous line. However, there is a difference. In the period under the leadership of the correct line, those cases which have been erroneously dealt with will be reexamined and redressed and these people involved will be given apologies in order to reassure them and make them feel easy. However, these things cannot be done in a period under the leadership of the wrong line. Only those people who represent the correct line can correct the mistakes at the right time and by means of the method of democratic centralism." Therefore, it is necessary to correct our mistakes in dealing with the comrades who have been framed, overcriticized, too severely struggled against, and whose crimes have been wrongly determined whether during or after the "Great Cultural Revolution" or during the movement of cleaning things up after the smashing of the gang of four. People will have to correct mistakes whether they do it now or later.

Even if certain comrades do not correct their mistakes, other comrades will do it for them. In short, it is advantageous to correct the mistakes as early and as quickly as possible. Comrades who have wrongly attacked others must enhance their initiative and awareness and seriously sum up experiences in order to obtain the understanding of the other comrades. On the other hand, comrades who have been framed but then rehabilitated should not keep picking on those who made mistakes, should not put forth unreasonably high demands or be swayed by personal feelings. Now that the "Resolution" has been published and the important question of right and wrong in the party's history has been clarified, people are aware of the historical factors accounting for criticism against each other in the past. There is no need to be particular about one's personal feelings since distinction between right and wrong has been clarified and everyone is sharp-eyed and clearheaded. We can ask ourselves: others have wrongly criticized me, but have I ever wrongly criticized others? It seems no one can say for sure that he has not wrongly criticized others. Our mental outlook will be improved after considering this question. Once there is a solution to this problem, everything will be easily solved. Therefore, it is necessary to educate our cadres in the idea that all people, whether they have wrongly criticized others or have been wrongly criticized themselves, must enhance their mental outlook, must possess the proletarian realm of thought, proletarian work style and a proletarian breadth of vision. Most of our cadres have been small producers in the past, and despite the number of years since they joined the revolution, they still have the same problem. Their thoughts are not as noble, their proletarian vision is not as broad, and their proletarian work style is not as fine as they should be. Therefore, in the meantime while we are doing a good job of implementing the policies, we must promote ideological work and reeducate the cadres in the proletarian work style. Thus, we can on the one hand solve the problem and on the other hand enable the broad masses of cadres to enhance their ideological state.

Readjusting the leadership groups at all levels is an important aspect of turning chaos into order and eradicating the negative consequences of the "Great Cultural Revolution" and is also a must for building the four modernizations. Thus, we should grasp well and do a good job of it. As far as readjusting the leadership groups is concerned, we should not strive to maintain the status quo in order to avoid disturbances. Similarly, it is also wrong to treat too seriously those comrades who have made mistakes, without carrying out a comprehensive historical analysis. We must adopt a stern attitude and appropriate approaches. We must differentiate various situations and adopt different methods to solve the problems. Some comrades who have committed mistakes during the "Great Cultural Revolution" have supported the former principal responsible person of the provincial CCP committee have not thoroughly understood the line and principles of the third plenary session, resulting in discrepancy in personal feelings. These people should sum up past experiences, overcome their own mistakes through education and in actual practice and resolutely support the line, principles and policies formulated since the third plenary session. They should put down their ideological burdens and enhance their revolutionary vigor in order to grasp their work well with a positive attitude. They should not be overcome with regret or be haunted by lingering fear. They should be bold enough to say and uphold what they should say and uphold. We can transfer some of these people retaining their original posts, to different units or areas and let them work for the revolution in different areas. This will benefit both the revolution and the comrades themselves. Regarding the small number of those "three kinds of person" who are still holding leadership posts, we must work in accordance with the policies and regulations to get rid of



these people in the leadership groups at all levels. However, these "three kinds of people" will not be handled according to criminal procedures if they have not committed any crime. With regard to those comrades who have been recklessly promoted during the "Great Cultural Revolution," and who have made certain mistakes and who are not well-qualified, or who have gained the support of the masses, they may be transferred to the lower levels to obtain additional education. This method reflects concern and care for these cadres. Although reckless promotions do not always cause great problems, it is advantageous for those who face difficulties in their present job to go down to the lower levels to train themselves. Everyone will be understanding receptive if we do a good job of differentiating the various situations and of clearly stating the reasons. We must still promote more cadres who possess both ability and political integrity and those in the prime of their lives to leadership posts at all levels and actively and in a scheduled way build a team of young, revolutionary, learned and professional cadres. The above-mentioned tasks in readjusting the leadership groups are interrelated. So long as we seriously follow the mass line, we can definitely do a good job of it.

Currently, the major problem that hampers our development is the unsatisfactory situation of unity of the party organizations. Misunderstandings still exist among the cadres and in the policy toward cadres upheld for a long period of time by the former principal responsible person of the provincial CCP committee of ganging up with his supporters and estranging himself from his detractors in order to strike blows at the leading cadres (mainly the veteran cadres), and his faults in denying his errors and refusing to make self-criticism. This situation has already caused great losses to our cause and we must put an end to it. Now that the "Resolution" adopted at the sixth plenary session has provided us with a political basis for unifying our understanding and strengthening unity, and that the CCP Central Committee has actively helped enhance our confidence in promoting unity and eliminating misunderstandings, we should achieve new unity and get rid of all leftover historical misunderstandings. Confronted with the historical mission of building material and spiritual civilization, we must proceed in our work from uniting all the cadres and the masses and lay stress on the party's interests to abandon all personal feelings, eradicate factionalism, enhance our party spirit, be united as one to look ahead and do a good job of work in the province. This complies with what we always say--give consideration to the overall situation. We will never succeed in giving consideration to the overall situation if we are always entwined with the past and always looking back. "Unity of the party and its unity with the people serve as the fundamental guarantee for carrying out socialist modernization and winning a new victory. So long as the whole party is closely united as one and is simultaneously closely united with the masses, the general trend of development will still be increasing prosperity day by day, despite the fact that our party and the socialist cause under the leadership of the party are bound to encounter various difficulties." We can never forget about these sentences published on the "Revolution."

#### Restore the Party's Fine Work Style, Build Socialist Spiritual Civilization

What is the approach for building spiritual civilization? The most important work at present is to strengthen party leadership over the ideological fronts, overcome the general situation of being lax and feeble, continue to criticize leftist mistakes in the guiding ideology and criticize the trend of bourgeois liberalization. We have already scored great achievements since the third plenary session in rectifying

party work style, social mood and social order. However, the situation has not been completely improved. In an early period of time, social order was in a chaotic situation in many places in the province, the people were unhappy and several serious murder cases took place. Since the conclusion of the sixth plenary session, a small number of people have started to fabricate rumors to libel and to create disturbances. However, some of our party members only shut their eyes to these things and adopt an indifferent attitude which we cannot tolerate. All this shows that our party work style is seriously corrupt and that our ideological work is extremely lax and feeble. In light of this, the pressing task now is to solve the problem of being lax and feeble, uphold the four basic principles and maintain political unanimity with the CCP Central Committee.

The most effective method to overcome the state of being lax and feeble is to restore and develop the party's fine traditions and work style and take criticism and self-criticism as the weapon. Criticism and self-criticism is one of the party's three great work styles and is the symbol which differentiates our party from other political parties. Talking about restoring the party's fine work styles, many comrades only remember the work style of seeking truth from facts and forget about the work style of working in close connection with the masses and unfolding criticism and self-criticism. The three work styles of the party are interrelated; seeking truth from facts will be empty if the other two do not exist. Seeking truth from facts will only mean daydreaming if we do not work in connection with the masses. We will not be able to tell right from wrong if there is no criticism and self-criticism. Then how can we talk about seeking truth from facts? Therefore, the three great work styles are inseparable. The objective for unfolding criticism and self-criticism is to uphold the principle of seeking truth from facts. Comrade Mao Zedong always stressed: criticism should be correct but not distorted, and self-criticism should be conscientiously but not perfunctorily launched. We should work in accordance with what Comrade Mao Zedong said. Due to cruel struggles and merciless blows started by the Lin Biao and Jiang Ding counterrevolutionary cliques during the 10 years of upheaval, many cadres and people are still worrying and have a lingering fear. They are afraid of criticism and self-criticism and many of them associate criticisms with sticks. Such a feeling is understandable; however, we should not put an end to criticism and self-criticism because of this. Our party has gained both positive and negative experiences in dealing with this issue in the past decades. On the one hand, negative experiences tell us that we can never again promote indiscriminate and exaggerated struggles and criticisms as during the "Great Cultural Revolution." On the other hand, positive experiences give rise to the party's three great work styles amid long-term struggles. In our party's history, the successful convening of both the Zunyi conference and the "seventh party congress" was the consequence of criticism and self-criticism. Our party has carried out several criticisms and self-criticisms since the smashing of the gang of four. In a certain sense, the sixth plenary session was the greatest criticism and self-criticism ever launched since the founding of the country, and the "Resolution" itself was the most profound self-criticism. So long as we seriously sum up historical experiences and correctly launch criticism and self-criticism, our party will definitely prosper and flourish.

Working in close connection with the masses is in fact one of the party's three great work styles. However, it is regrettable that many comrades have already forgotten about it and some veteran comrades have already abandoned it. One of the reasons accounting for the leftist or rightist errors in our work on many occasion is that we have not done a good job of following the mass line. Many things seem very

difficult to handle. But in fact, they can be easily solved so long as we follow the mass line sufficiently. Generally speaking, the majority of cadres are relatively more correct than before. We advocate following the genuine but not the sham mass line. The so-called genuine mass line means relying on the majority of the masses. Whether in implementing the policies, rectifying the work of the leadership groups, handling the "three kinds of people," popularizing the production responsibility systems or carrying out democratic elections, we must rely on the majority of the masses. The "Resolution" adopted at the sixth plenary session serves as evidence of following the mass line since it was written after repeated amendments in accordance with the masses' opinions. In short, we must push forward education in the three great work styles within the party, enabling them to strike root in the hearts of the people and the party in a few years' time. With regard to this problem, we must not merely shout slogans but must initiate actions and work in a practical way in order to score achievements.

Promoting the ideology and work style of our cadres is an important aspect of building spiritual civilization. At present, three major problems exist in the cadres' work: First, transferring and making use of the masses' properties to repair houses; second, getting things done for children and relatives through the back door; third, giving banquets and presents and accepting bribes. In addition to this, some cadres have a lax attitude and are irresponsible in their work, always engaging in personal matters. The masses are very discontented with this, and we must seriously solve these problems. In the article "The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War," Comrade Mao Zedong proposed five methods to care for and protect the cadres, and it merits being studied by the broad masses of cadres. We should care for and protect the cadres, but how? If we do not criticize the errors of the cadres for the sake of caring for and protecting them, then we are in fact doing harm to them and hampering their development in the future. When dealing with cadres who have made mistakes, we must, on the one hand, carry out criticism, and on the other, must not promote exaggerated struggles or stick labels on others, but uphold the principle of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones, and curing the sickness to save the patient." However, the problem now is that the cadres are not bold enough to make criticisms whenever mistakes are found. We must promptly correct this kind of unhealthy mood. To promote the work style of cadres, we must particularly stress telling the truth. It is necessary to tell the truth both to the superiors and to the masses, and to resolutely exterminate all lies, exaggerations and empty words. We must also encourage the fine work style of riding bicycles more instead of driving vehicles, going deep into the basic levels and carrying out investigations and research work. Anyone who has been acting as a county CCP committee secretary should visit all production teams in that particular county in 2 years' time, and should be familiar with the location of all the gullies and the channels. Only by knowing how things stand can the leaders exert correct leadership.

We must primarily build spiritual civilization in the urban areas, which are the political and cultural centers. Successful building of spiritual civilization in the urban areas can push forward building of spiritual civilization in the rural areas. It is correct for the urban areas to stress grasping production, but they must simultaneously grasp well building of spiritual civilization, rectify well production order and learning order and social order, promote party work style and social mood and do a good job of public health. We must continuously and irresistibly grasp building spiritual civilization, putting it on the same level with production.



Successful building of spiritual civilization will speed up building of material civilization. Turning spiritual things into material things is the dialectics of things.

### Work Efficiently, Enable the Economy To Develop at a Certain Speed

Certain foundations have been laid for development of agriculture, industry and transportation and communications, trade and finance and other fronts in the province since the founding of the state, and the objective conditions have also been satisfactory. However, the achievements we have made are far from meeting the demands of the CCP Central Committee and the people's expectations, and we are lagging behind other provinces and municipalities because leftist mistakes and their influences have not been completely eradicated. In addition, we have not adequately emancipated our minds or advanced with big strides, because we have been hampered by a large number of historical questions and have not been able to concentrate leadership and energy on promoting economic construction or shifting our work focus onto economic construction in accordance with the demands of the third plenary session. In order to do a good job of readjusting the national economy, it is necessary to solve, both in understanding and in actual practice, the following major problems:

1. The economy must develop at a speed which can be attained by means of strenuous efforts. Our comrades only have a one-sided knowledge of balance and readjustment and do not understand what is meant by maintaining a certain speed in readjustment. There are advances and retreats and even new projects in the course of readjustment. We just currently stress the idea of maintaining a certain speed in economic development. If we cannot keep a certain high speed, we will not be able to meet the growing demands of the masses in their daily life. The masses have become richer over the past 2 years and they will be better off this year due to a bumper agricultural harvest. First, if industry, in particular light industry, does not develop at a certain speed, the masses' demands will never be satisfied. Second, financial revenue will be increased if the economy develops steadily; otherwise, it will decrease. Third, without a certain economic growth rate, the enthusiasm of the cadres and the workers will not be aroused. This involves the problem of morale. Unreasonably high or low quotas will dampen the enthusiasm of the masses. The old saying of "the bolder the people in an area, the greater the production" has also been proved wrong in actual practice. But on the other hand, the masses' morale will also be dampened if production is kept to a low level regardless of the capacity. For instance, we are only asked to walk 50 miles a day when actually we can walk 100 miles. When the alarm clock rings in the morning, we say, let us sleep for a while longer since we only have to walk 50 miles after all. In this way, our morale is dampened. Fourth, unreasonably low production quotas do not encourage the people to improve business management, learn management skills or obtain advanced management experience. Moreover, they hinder us from encouraging our broad masses of cadres to improve business management and master advanced science and technology. Fifth, a slow rate of development is bound to affect our antihegemonist struggle in the international situation. The poor and backward situation in our country is disadvantageous to enlightening the people of the Third World and to returning Taiwan to the motherland. In short, the question of the rate of economic development is not only an economic problem but is also a political one. With regard to the problem of the rate of economic development, we must bear the past experiences in mind and uphold seeking truth from facts. We must not encourage high quotas which can never be

attained despite strenuous efforts or promote blind and large-scale capital construction. In other words, we must not encourage high quotas or waste money. Under this premise and with strenuous efforts, it is entirely possible to maintain a certain economic growth rate. We should not feel shameful if we have made much effort and production still lags behind because of poor objective conditions. However, we should take the responsibility if we fail to fulfill production quotas not because of objective conditions but because we have not worked hard enough.

2. It is necessary to explicitly stipulate the objective of production. The objective of socialist production is to incessantly meet the growing demands of the people's material and culture lives. One of the greatest principles guiding our economic work is to consider the interests of the 1 billion people. There will be no prospects in our economic work without considering the interests of the 1 billion people. We must often remember the needs of the masses and give consideration to the needs of the 800 million peasants. For instance, in promoting development of electricity, we must give consideration to meeting the masses' demands in production and daily life. However, ideological problems and problems of work style now exist among those in charge of development of electricity who always neglect the peasants. Take the food industry as another example. It is necessary to consider the masses' health. Some foods are more nutritious and are good for our health. For example, sick people and pregnant women must eat finer dried noodles in order to recover rapidly. What should we do when we know the peasants are well off? We must first encourage consumption; second, encourage them to raise funds to run joint enterprises; third, organize the masses to voluntarily promote public facilities; and fourth, encourage savings. In order to encourage consumption in the urban and rural areas, we must develop production and produce new products. Talking about the proportion of heavy and light industries, it is not always correct to maintain a higher proportion of light industrial development; perhaps we should put it in this way: Production of the means of production must accord with production of the means of subsistence; and it is not always true to say that a higher proportion of light industry over heavy industry means better development. Metallurgical and engineering industries must study the problem of the objective of production and give consideration to the needs of the masses. We do not have abundant production of iron and steel. However, the amount of accumulation is remarkable. The reason for this is that the orientation of production is incorrect. The steel ingots are usually stored in the warehouses after being produced, and production quotas are said to have been fulfilled. Our first requirement in initiating scheduled work is to work in accordance with the masses' needs and meet their growing demands in their material and cultural lives. In planning work in the future, we must work in accordance with the people's needs and give consideration to the "six great categories." The "six categories" are: daily necessities manufacturing industry; textile industry; food-stuffs industry; peasants' means of production, tractors and small farming machines; construction materials and service trades including tourism, guesthouses, barber and repair services. In the course of readjusting the national economy, if we fix our investment orientation and work focus in accordance with the proportions of agriculture, light industry and heavy industry and do a good job of promoting the above-mentioned six categories which are closely related to the people's livelihood, we will be able to achieve a certain speed of development in the course of readjustment and change our backward appearance relatively quickly.

3. We must popularize and push forward the economic responsibility system. The implementation of the agricultural production responsibility system in the previous



2 years has proved that the responsibility system is on the one hand, a good method to integrate rights, obligations and interests and on the other hand, an effective means to motivate the masses' enthusiasm in production and improve the economic effect. Our province has been a bit slow in initiating the agricultural production responsibility system and has not been doing a good job of it. Thus, leaders at all levels must still vigorously push forward the responsibility system of linking remuneration to output. We must continue to criticize leftism and find a solution to the problem of the two trends of letting matters drag on and refusing to do anything about them. Certainly, we must let the cadres and members of the commune choose their own form of responsibility system and should not force them to accept a particular form. We must not encourage doing things in a rigid way regardless of the specific conditions. Every sector and trade must learn the experience of pushing forward the agricultural production responsibility system. All departments including industry, communications and transportation, finance and trade and scientific research units must formulate responsibility systems at all levels from political to economic ones. Cadres of prefectural CCP committees, county CCP committees and party and government organs at all levels must promote responsibility systems in the future. Our experiment in expanding the self-management of industrial enterprises in the previous 2 years is in fact a starting point in reforming business management. However, it is necessary to promote the responsibility system for a long time to come, whether in the 1980's or in the 1990's. The responsibility system sets up criteria for examination which enables us to avoid egalitarianism. As early as at the end of the October Revolution, Lenin put forward the proposal on practicing the responsibility system. Our experience in promoting the responsibility system has proved that this idea of Lenin is correct and we must still enrich and develop this idea by making use of our actual practice. Certainly, we are not solely stressing material benefits but must also do ideological and political work well in pushing forward the responsibility system. We must unify and integrate the sense of political responsibility and the economic responsibility system. We must become good workers responsible for management of the socialist businesses, working for both the state and the people and possessing a high sense of political responsibility.

4. We must organize well and lead well socialist modernization, conscientiously sum up experiences and learn to work in accordance with the economic laws. Promoting socialist construction for a period of 30 years, we have achieved successes but have also suffered setbacks and failures. Thus, it is necessary to correctly sum up our experiences in order to avoid blindness. For instance, one of the problems which needs to be looked into is how to give play to our province's superiority. It is suitable to grow cotton in our province, which is an old cotton-producing area, and our peasants are experienced in growing cotton. Our historical cotton-producing area had reached an area of 17 million mu and our cotton production tops other areas in the country. However, our cotton production decreased due to leftist influences during the "Great Cultural Revolution." Although production has risen again in the past 2 years, it is still far from reaching our historical record. We must readjust the overall arrangement of crops, appropriately cultivate more cotton and strive to increase our cotton production to 10 million dan in a few years' time. Once cotton production is increased, there will be raw materials for developing the light and textile industries, the peasants will enjoy more economic benefits, and the cottonseed cake can also be applied as fertilizers to promote the per unit areas yield of grain. Take water conservancy as another example; our province has spent quite a lot of money on water conservancy projects and the effects are

worth summing up. Certain capital construction projects such as water conservancy ones must be semi-compulsory. We will not be able to promote building of the country if we do not pursue labor accumulation.

5. Various departments related to economic construction must incessantly look into the new situation and solve new problems. For instance, we all generally feel that there is insufficient capital for investment, fixing our eyes always on the state's investment. There is in fact a convention. Why can we not be more far-sighted and adopt the method of attracting outside capital (including capital from foreign countries and provinces?) For instance, some people do not know what to do with native products such as honey, walnut, peanuts and sesame which have been produced in excess of quotas and have not been selling well in the local markets. Why do they not try the method of exporting them to other places and processing them? We can export the dried persimmons and jujubes to the southern part in exchange for bananas and tangerines. The method of exporting goods to other places can help avoid panic purchasing and poor sales. It is in fact a good method to protect and stimulate production of native products, and we must not lower the prices of these products capriciously. In addition, we can also develop processing of foodstuffs which can both meet the masses' need and provide more opportunities for sales and increase revenue. As a matter of fact, some agricultural products procuring departments are running at a loss. It is undoubtedly the methods they practice at present that cause losses. Why can they not change and try out some new methods? We do not have to lose money but can gain profits if we process the agricultural products we have procured and carry out advanced processing of them in the big municipalities and then export a certain portion and leave a certain portion for use as raw materials for the industries. This is the orientation and principle of procurement work. One of the reasons accounting for the backward situation of our province's agricultural production is that the area of vegetation is small in the province and the ecological situation is poor. Many deserted hillsides and beaches in our province have not been afforested. As a result of this, all the hillsides and beaches remain deserted and subject to erosion as neither the collective nor the masses have been engaged in afforestation. Why can we not let the commune members mobilize the masses to promote afforestation? The masses in Shahe County were very glad to hear that the county CCP committee was going to distribute deserted beaches to them and declared that the policy would remain unchanged for 3 to 5 years. In fact, they should emancipate their minds more and declare that the policy will remain unchanged for 20 years. Thus, the masses will have the confidence to plant trees there. What we are short of presently are trees and pastures. Thus, we must encourage afforestation in order to benefit the ecological balance and agricultural harvests. All this shows that it is necessary to learn and study the economic laws and learn how to motivate the enthusiasm of the masses in production. Leaders at all levels must be determined to learn economics, management, and techniques and become experts.

Our party in Hebei Province has glorious revolutionary traditions and has made significant contributions in the period of the revolutionary war and socialist construction. In the long course of actual struggle, our province has some 2.5 million party members and some 700,000 cadres not engaged in production. They have become more intelligent and stronger after undergoing training and tests and having accumulated both positive and negative experiences. We will win a new victory so long as all our party comrades have the same ideology, advance at an identical pace and have high morale to fully motivate the enthusiasm of the 50 million people in the province. All our party comrades, in particular, the leading comrades at all levels,

must understand the situation, enhance revolutionary vigor, play exemplary roles, efficiently do a good job of various tasks and write the history of our own deeds which bear no insults to our party and the people. Let us closely unite around the CCP Central Committee to strive for a prosperous future and live up to the expectations of the CCP Central Committee and the masses in the province with unswerving determination and the heroic spirit of arriving at the Great Wall and the Nantianmen before calling ourselves true men.

CSO: 4005/12

## PARTY AND STATE

### ROLE OF 19TH CENTURY FIGURE ZUO ZONGTANG REEVALUATED

Beijing BEIJING WANBAO in Chinese 18 Aug 81 p 3

[Article by Yang Dongliang [2799 2639 2733]: "Zuo Zongtang Should Not Be Totally Repudiated"]

[Text] Since the founding of the state, no one with any knowledge of modern history has failed to view Zuo Zongtang [1563 1350 2768] as an "executioner." In the past 2 years or so, some comrades have written articles trying to ascertain his patriotic thought, but the discussion is still limited to a few historians.

Speaking calmly, Zuo Zongtang's attitude toward resisting external humiliation was explicit, firm and consistent in an age when our national suffering was extremely serious. Already in the period of the Opium War he admired patriots like Lin Zexu [2651 0463 1776] and Wei Yuan [7614 3293], and declared that "making peace with the barbarians and being self-complacent was not a good long-term plan because wolves cannot be tamed." Confronted with British and French aggression during the Second Opium War, he proposed "to use one brigade to defend Tianjin and then fight to the death." At the outbreak of the Sino-French War, Zuo was again a firm member of the war faction, but he finally died of illness on the Fuzhou front. On his deathbed he still regretted that in his life he had not "extended our punitive expeditions and spread the might of the country." Particularly worthy of praise was his removal of all obstacles and difficulties and his "assumption of the formidable and barren frontier as one's own task." At the end of the 1870's he sent his forces to recover Xinjinag which had been lost for 14 years and thus preserved a large piece of beloved territory for the motherland, performing meritorious service for the Chinese nation.

The war to recover Xinjinag started in July 1876. At that time the situation was critical. Supported by Great Britain and Tsarist Russia in the late 1860's Yakub Beg set up the so-called "Zhe-de-sha-er Khanate" in Xinjiang, plotting to separate Xinjiang from our country. With inherent greed, Tsarist Russia also took advantage of our misfortune and sent troops to occupy the Ili area in July 1871. At this time of the worsening of the national crisis, Zuo Zongtang, who originally planned to retire to his home village, at once indicated that he found it "hard to suddenly lose determination and must fight these barbarians." In 1876, after secret planning, he commanded the attack at the age of 65. With the warm support of all the nationalities in Xinjiang, the Qing forces scored victory after victory and the news of victory kept pouring in. Yakub Beg had no way out and killed himself by poison in Korla. After

southern Xinjiang was recovered, Tsarist Russia still wanted to remain in Ili. At the end of May 1880, the old and ailing Zuo Zongtang went through a severely hot summer, travelled with his own coffin and attacked from Jiuquan, swearing that he would fight Tsarist Russia to the death. His love for his country, enthusiasm and devotion moved people. After his death, someone wrote in a eulogy: "Never uttering a single word about making peace, Zuo Wenxiang is the only one in a thousand years." This was not unfounded.

Indeed, the suppression of peasant rebellions was the most inglorious chapter in Zuo Zongtang's life, and there is no need for reticence about this. But never do merit and crime overshadow each other, and it is difficult for historical figures to detach themselves from the life of their times and the class they come from. It can be said that exemplary figures in history who had been part of the feudal ruling class viewed rebellious peasants with an almost unanimous attitude. Even the national heroes who had won universal praise, Yue Fei [1471 7378] and Lin Zexu, were no exceptions. In my opinion, Zuo Zongtang should not be totally repudiated.

9586

CSO: 4005/866



## PARTY AND STATE

### SOCIAL SCIENCE WRITERS URGED TO AVOID STILTED STYLE

Beijing BEIJING WANBAO in Chinese 13 Aug 81 p 3

[Article by Li Shulei [2621 2579 4320]: "Oppose the 'Eight-Legged' Style of Writing Articles"]

[Text] In social science articles in our country today there is generally a style of writing structured primarily as follows: part one, part two, part three, arguments, evidence, and conclusion. The language is also more or less the same, dull and uninteresting, mediocre and unsurprising. Even the article titles are stereotyped in the same pattern: "A Discussion on..." or "A Preliminary Discussion on...." This kind of essay looks exactly like a dried up face without the slightest trace of color and is terrifying. Other than those who must read such essays because of their specialized fields, few readers are willing to read them from beginning to end. We might well call this unpleasant style of writing "the eight-legged essays of science."

Some people say that this is science and that this kind of language is scientific. True, scientific language requires a high degree of accuracy, but accuracy is not the antithesis of vividness. "Das Kapital" by Marx is highly scientific, and even an enemy of Marxism cannot fail to recognize that it has indisputable power of logic. But "Das Kapital" does not have the style of the eight-legged essay. What it has includes new and original narration, analogies of form and humor. On one hand the readers are convinced by its discussion and on the other hand they give an understanding smile to the accuracy and wit of the language. The reasoning of Engel's "Anti-Duhring" was also contained in its lively and humorous writing style. Rousseau's "Emile: Or, On Education" is a work of significant value in the history of educational thought. Its style of writing flows like a murmuring stream which speaks with absorbing interest. It is as if the author is chatting with the reader, enabling people to enjoy receiving his ideas. This is truly what people have praised as "a style for everyone."

Science does not exist for articles. On the contrary, articles exist because of science. The aim of a scientific article is to exchange ideas and disseminate truth. Not only must it have a scientific nature but also liveliness, so that people will want to read it. It should be expressed in a form that is fresh and rich in creativity, or else its substance will be stifled by a form that is old. The creation of lively scientific language should be treated as part of scientific creativity. Science workers should give full play to their talents and create a scientific writing style that does not follow only one pattern but one that is rich and varied.

9586

CSO: 4005/866

## PARTY AND STATE

### COMPLAINT ON HOUSING DIFFICULTY DISPUTED

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 1 Sep 81 p 4

[Article: "Report on a Letter of Criticism"]

[Text] Editor: Recently, the Zhaoqing Municipal Housing Management Company made a written report to the leaders concerned of the Zhaoqing municipal party committee on the long unsolved difficulties of Luo Shuhe [5012 2885 0735], a reader of this paper, who complained to this paper of his long residence in a "pigeonhole," and a copy of the report was sent to this paper as an answer. This "answer" not only lied about the conditions and ignored the people's difficulties, but censured the reader for making criticisms and reporting the situation with such statements as "such reporting was improper, and detrimental to the performance of daily work by the leadership and the organ," and asked the reader's unit to conduct an "education." To clarify the situation, our reporter made an investigation. We are not publishing the reader's "letter," the "answer" and the "investigation report."

#### Reader's Letter

I am a resident of No 22, Lane 3, Hongqi 1st Road, Zhaoqing city. For more than 10 years, the 9 members of my family have been living in a narrow and damp "pigeonhole."

This tiny residence contains an area of only 16.4 square meters, averaging less than 2 square meters per person. My wife and I live in a room of less than 7 square meters which contains 2 beds forming the letter "T." My 3d daughter, already 23 years old, sleeps in a plank bed at the foot of our bed, and she has to crawl over our bed to reach it. My 11-year old daughter still sleeps in the same bed with us. Three beds are set up every night in the little hall, one each for my mother and son and the third shared by my two daughters.

Without a kitchen in our tiny residence, we had to build a stove outside the door to cook. Like waterlogged beancakes, the floor laid with broken bricks

oozes water. The tile roof is completely dilapidated, leaking water everywhere when it rains, just like a water melon shed.

To solve our housing problem, we went to the housing management unit many times, but to no avail. When I went and asked the Eastern District housing management station to repair the house and increase its height and area, they said: "The maintenance expense of the housing management station is limited to 500 yuan, and larger amounts have to be approved by the bureau." When we went to the municipal housing management bureau for help, the answer was: "Housing difficulties are handled by the housing management stations of the districts." In 1977, the responsible person of the Eastern District housing management station informed me: "In regard to your difficulties, we are most sympathetic. If you will only pay all your back rents, the problem can be solved." Thereupon, I sold our two parturient sows and paid all the back rents through the years. It has been 3 years, and my housing problem remains unsolved. In recent years, the Zhaoqing municipal housing management bureau built a group of new residences. Some people have moved time and again, adding flowers to the brocade, while my family is still in the "pigeonhole."

Luo Shuhe  
Zhaoqing city

#### Answer of the Housing Management Unit

Upon investigating the housing difficulties reported to NANFANG RIBAO by Luo Shuhe, a worker of the Second Municipal Machine Tool Plant, we report the situation as follows:

In his letter, Luo Shuhe said that there are nine in his family. Upon investigation and verification, his family has only seven members, husband and wife and five children. Instead of 16.4 square meters as reported by him, the area of his residence, measured on site, consists of 30.1 square meters, averaging 4.3 square meters per person for the 7 members of his family, which is larger than the average area of urban residences. The house has a kitchen, though he stated that there is no kitchen and a stove had to be built outside the door to cook. The floor, laid with whole or half pieces of brick and ladder bricks, is rather damp, but it is not "laid with broken bricks, oozing water like waterlogged beancakes." The tile roof is in fairly good condition, except the water trough in the rear of the house which leaks, but it is not like what he described--"the tile roof is completely dilapidated, leaking water everywhere when it rains, just like a water melon shed." We wonder what he is up to!

Luo Shuhe said: "To solve our housing problem, we went to the housing management unit many times, but to no avail." Actually, we suggested 3 years ago that we would repair the leaks and replace the wooden boards at the entrance with bricks. However, he demanded that it be entirely dismantled and the height increased. Recently, we repeated our suggestion again, but he refused to give in. We are unable, at this time, to satisfy such excessive demands.

In view of the above, such reporting by Luo Shuhe was improper, and detrimental to the performance of daily work by the leadership and the organ. Besides reporting the truth to the higher level, we will contact the Second Machine Tool Plant to have him educated.

Zhaoqing Municipal Housing Management  
Company

#### Investigation Report

In regard to the housing difficulties as reported by Luo Shuhe in his letter, upon investigation, we find the circumstances basically true.

There were nine members in his family. (His mother died 1 month before his letter). Now there are eight, not seven, as stated by the Zhaoqing Municipal Housing Management Company. The whole family is squeezed into a shack. According to our actual measurement, the total area is 25.7 square meters. Besides the area taken up by the sewer, walkway and stove, the actual use area is only 18.3 square meters, averaging 2.3 square meters per person. In a small room of 7.4 square meters partitioned off with rotten wooden boards, there are 2 "T" beds for the couple and 3 daughters. A wardrobe and a sewing machine are in front of the large bed, and one has to walk sideways to get through. Many miscellaneous articles are piled in the little hall, where temporary beds are set up every night for three children.

There is a water trough at the east wall of the Luo house. When it rains, the water from the four houses nearby flows through the trough to the ground surface of Luo Shuhe's house before draining into the sewer. To keep the water out of the house, Luo Shuhe built a small retaining wall alongside the wooden boards. The floor of the house is very damp. We found the walls very wet when we were there. Luo Shuhe built a stove with bricks in the hallway inside the house. It has no chimney. When cooking, black smoke fills the house. A fire was being built when we visited and, the moment we sat down, we found the smoke suffocating.

According to Luo Shuhe's letter, some people in Zhaoqing city moved to new residences time and again in recent years, adding flowers to the brocade. We found the situation to be true. The former housing management bureau chief, for instance, originally lived in a single-family house of three rooms and one hall with an enclosing wall, which was pretty good. However, when the city built a better equipped new dormitory at Baoyuetai last year, he moved there, with the five members of the family occupying a residence of four rooms and one hall, covering an area of 97 square meters. One comrade of the housing management unit, with six members in the family, originally a house with three rooms and one hall, with a kitchen. Last year, the housing management unit helped him build another floor to his house, adding a balcony and an extra room.

Luo Shuhe's report to the leading organs and the party on his housing difficulties and his hopes for solution are entirely legitimate and reasonable. However, instead of rendering help, the Zhaoqing Municipal Housing Management Company found his report "detrimental to the performance of daily work by the leadership and the organ" and asked his unit to "give him an education." We visited the Second Machine Tool Plant where he works. The cadres and staff and workers of the plant were very sympathetic to him and extremely dissatisfied with the attitude of the Municipal Housing Management Company. They said that the plant originally had the responsibility to solve the housing problems of the staff and workers, but it happened that the plant was in the midst of conversion and the difficulties were many; therefore, they were unable to help for the time being. They hoped that the municipal housing management unit would help solve his housing difficulties.

Staff Reporter

6080

CSO: 4005/912



## PARTY AND STATE

### JILIN AGRICULTURAL STUDY GROUP VISITS JAPAN

Beijing BAN YUE TAN [SEMI-MONTHLY TALKS] in Chinese, no 14, 25 Jul 81  
p 24

[Article by Zhang Kaixin [1728 7030 2946]: "Wang Enmao [3769 1869 5399] Visits Japan"]

[Text] In October of last year Comrade Wang Enmao, the First Secretary of the Jilin Province Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, led the Jilin Provincial Agricultural Study Group on a trip to Japan. His demeanor of strong self-discipline, hard work and simplicity left people with a profound impression.

Although he is nearly 70 years of age Comrade Wang Enmao throughout the visit sincerely made investigations, asked detailed questions and made copious notes. In order that he might fully understand production conditions in Japanese agricultural life he not only exerted himself in the daytime activities but also used the evening hours to visit peasant family homes.

During the visit, Wang Enmao repeatedly told the delegation that China still has economic problems so that they should practice economy in any way possible in order to reduce expenditure of foreign currency. While traveling in Hokkaido one meal eaten by the delegation exhausted that day's food expenses. Comrade Wang Enmao had heard that noodles were the least expensive food so he suggested that they start eating more noodles. The members of the delegation knew that he was from Jiangxi and preferred to eat rice so they wanted him to continue to eat rice. He laughed and said, "For these many years I've been all over China and have become accustomed to eating anything." He set an example by ordering noodles more often and the food expenses were accordingly reduced. As a result of this, while the delegation was in Japan it used only one-third of the funds allocated for food. On this item alone they saved the country over 410,000 Japanese yen.

In order to reduce expenses Wang Enmao and the comrades of the delegation rode together on busses, frequently used subways and trains and when there were no seats available they all rode standing up.

The original budget for the Jilin Provincial Agricultural Delegation was 12.3 million Japanese yen but they used only 2.78 million Japanese yen, a mere fraction of the original allocation.

Nonetheless, the investigation was conducted entirely to everyone's satisfaction. An article in issue number 12 of the official publication of the Japanese ZHONGGUO GUIHUANZHE YOUHAOHUI--THE CHINA RETURNEES FRIENDSHIP ASSOCIATION praised Wang Enmao and his delegation saying, "The delegation's attitude of enthusiastic study and manner of sincerity and simplicity made a lasting impression on the various reception units and on people from all levels of Japanese life."

11582

CSO: 4005/896

## PARTY AND STATE

### BRIEFS

CHENGDU CADRE MEETING--According to a CHENGDU RIBAO report, the Chengdu Municipal CCP Committee held a cadre meeting on 11 September to arrange work to rectify social order. The meeting was presided over by Liu Jingzhou, secretary of the municipal CCP committee, and Mi Jianshu, first secretary of the municipal CCP committee, made a report on the municipality's situation. The meeting demanded that social order be improved in Chengdu within 2 years and that the following problems be solved: 1) Unify understanding and attach importance to social order; 2) assign tasks to districts, counties, streets and communes and brigades in the rural areas; 3) resolutely strike blows at criminals; 4) be strict with the management of social order; 5) strengthen party leadership over legal work. All leaders must personally grasp legal work and do a good job of rectifying social order. [HK281222 Chengdu Sichuan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 12 Sep 81]

CSO: 4005/12

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### BRIEFS

LU XUN CENTENNIAL MEETING--Beijing, 23 Sep (XINHUA)--The Central Committee and the Beijing municipal committee of the China Association for Promoting Democracy held a report meeting on 21 September to mark Lu Xun's centennial. Zhou Jianren, chairman, and Ye Shengtao, Xu Boxin and Lei Jieqiong, vice chairmen, of the Central Committee of the association for promoting democracy, were present at the meeting. Addressing the meeting, Lei Jieqiong said that emulation of Lu Xun today is of profound and realistic significance for combating lax and weak leadership and the bourgeois liberalization trend on the ideological front. Ma Liangchun, director of the modern literature research room of the Literature Institute of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, made a report entitled "Lu Xun, a Great Thinker" during the meeting. [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1302 GMT 23 Sep 81 OW]

SOCIAL SCIENCE POSTGRADUATES--Beijing, 21 Sep (XINHUA)--A ceremony was held here today to mark the commencement of 438 students who have finished 3 years of postgraduate studies at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. They are among the 11,000 who have finished postgraduate studies this year. This is five times the 1980 figure and is close to the total number of postgraduates in the last 30 years. The 102 fields of postgraduate study included law, economics, history, philosophy, literature, journalism and religion. Topics included the banking system of the United States, Soviet industry and planning, maritime law, transformation of the Chinese industrial system, cooperation in agriculture, industry and commerce. Postgraduate studies were stopped during the Cultural Revolution. [Beijing XINHUA in English 0825 GMT 21 Sep 81 OW]

CSO: 4020/6

'TA KUNG PAO' ON U.S. ARMS SALES TO TAIWAN

HK190742 Hong Kong TA KUNG PAO in Chinese 19 Sep 81 pp 1, 2

[Article by Chang Yi-chun [4545 0044 0689]: "What Is the U.S. Intention in Selling Arms to Taiwan?"]

[Text] Last month, U.S. Congressman Zablocki and Senator Green successively went to Taiwan to express "assurances about the enforcement of the Taiwan Relations Act," as they planned to sell the FX fighter planes and other weapons to Taiwan. As chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee Zablocki was especially open and outrageous in his performance in Taiwan. He never stopped using such appellations as "Republic of China," "president" and "president of the yuan." He claimed that "the PRC has no veto power concerning our (U.S.) talks, relations and trade with the Republic of China." He acted as if the three principles on the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and the United States had never existed, as if the relations between China and the United States had never been normalized, and as if the United States was just a big international boss who could call the tune and make every decision about the internal affairs of the 1 billion Chinese people.

It was reported that recently the United States has frequently been sending out feelers through the news media and other channels to find out Chinese reaction to the U.S. plan to sell arms to Taiwan. In fact, such feelers are superfluous. China takes an unusually clear-cut and resolute stand: There is only one China in the whole world--the People's Republic of China. Taiwan is a province of China. The business between the people on both sides of the strait can be taken care of by the Chinese themselves, and China does not allow crude intervention by any power. It is a prerequisite that all countries which have diplomatic relations with China respect this stand. The United States recognized China's stand in line with the three principles on the establishment of diplomatic relations. Only then were the relations between the two countries normalized. Certain Washington politicians have made a point of wrecking this basis of normalization of relations, clinging to the so-called "Taiwan Relations Act" and clamoring all the time for the sale of new arms to the local regime of Taiwan.

To find a market for these new weapons, they let their imagination run wild. They think that while selling arms to Taiwan, they can sell the same to mainland China, striking a balance and keeping both sides pleased and leaving everyone satisfied. Is it that China needs U.S. arms so badly? After all, why is the attraction of U.S. arms so strong as to make China forget its own territorial sovereignty?



They also think that what China wants to ask of the United States today exceeds what the latter wants to ask of China and that China can do nothing even if the United States plays some tricks. Such narrow-minded pragmatist thinking could not be more wrong. What has China to ask of the United States? Before the normalization of relations between the two countries and even at a time of strained relations when China was subjected to embargo, encirclement and threat, did China not stand towering where it was, growing ever stronger?

Facts in the past 30-plus years show that new China alone has been threatened by others, but it has never been a threat to any other country. Even enlightened people of the United States have also in recent years come to realize the point that only a strong China can help stabilize the situation in Asia and maintain world peace. In the past, the state of abnormal relations between China and the United States was obviously harmful to the United States in every way and did it no good. The two countries later normalized their relations, and, in line with the wishes of the people of the two countries, both sides have had exchanges in many fields, to their mutual benefit. Thus, everyone feels that the relations between China and the United States are to be appreciated. Judging from changes in the current international situation and in light of strategic needs, both sides should only further strengthen their friendly cooperation and should not let their relations be soured. Some wise fools in the United States have befriended Soviet hegemonists. They want to play the "China game." They even want to play the "Taiwan game" with China. China is not a 3-year-old child. How can it be deceived in this way? If people think that China would sacrifice its principles to U.S. strategic needs, they are entirely wrong.

When commenting on U.S. diplomacy, world public opinion often points out its internal differences of opinions, its disorderly ways of doing things and the contradiction between its words and deeds. The United States says it will forcefully check Soviet expansion abroad, but it often acts in exactly the opposite way. For example, in order to oppose the Soviet invasion in Afghanistan, it only restricted grain exports to the Soviet Union. However, even this minor measure was very quickly canceled. Take another example. To carry out its "strategic cooperation" with Israel the United States has not hesitated to set itself against most of the Arab countries, thus in every respect giving the Soviet Union an opportunity that can be exploited to its advantage. Just as its launching of aggressive wars in Korea and Vietnam, by fostering a Zionist Israel, the United States antagonizes enemies everywhere, drains its national strength, all of which was a gross mistake from the start. Now the Soviet Union is becoming stronger and expanding everywhere, so that new conditions have emerged in the international situation, but the United States has not wholly changed its way of doing things. The improvement of Sino-American relations can be regarded as suiting the new situation, but the United States has again slovelly left such an ugly tail as "Taiwan Relations Act."

Viewed from the point of view of international law, using a domestic law like the "Taiwan Relations Act" to pound at the international agreement on establishment of Sino-American diplomatic relations is both preposterous and illegal. Since the United States has acknowledged that the PRC is the only legal government representing China, but at the same time it supports the local regime in Taiwan with arms, what standard of international conduct is this? In the past Harry Truman sent the 7th Fleet to protect Taiwan and regarded Taiwan as an "unsinkable U.S. aircraft carrier." It is possible that this mentality has been making mischief in the minds of some U.S. politicians up to this moment. If it should happen that another country comes from

afar and turns Hawaii into its "unsinkable aircraft carrier," will the U.S. Government and the public tolerate such an action? If Taiwan is the U.S. "unsinkable aircraft carrier," who is to be the object of its bombings?

Some people in the United States are providing various explanations for its reluctance to give up this "unsinkable aircraft carrier." Certain people say that the United States pay attention to public opinion and quite a few "public opinion polls" show that there are still some American people who do not agree with "abandoning" Taiwan, which is why it is necessary to cook up a "Taiwan Relations Act." However, 1 billion Chinese people, including the people of Taiwan, stand for the early reunification of China. We should like to ask, the public opinion of which side is in the majority? Certain other people say that the arms proposed for sale to Taiwan are defensive ones, which means that they will not be used to attack the Chinese mainland. It is not that China is afraid of the use of this little bit of arms and ammunition. The Chinese people put to route several million troops of Chiang Kai-shek, which were armed with U.S. equipment. What do they care about this little bit of arms and ammunition? The question lies in the fact that the United States is deviating from the principles of establishing Sino-American relations, resuscitating in a disguised way the "mutual defense treaty" between the United States and Chiang Kai-shek and supporting the local Taiwan regime with arms. Even if this is so, who is Taiwan guarding itself against if it needs the defensive weapons? Is it guarding against the Soviet Union or Japan? The Soviet Union has deployed a million troops along the Chinese border. It is first of all the Chinese mainland that has a defensive need. Is not this "defense" of yours aimed at sabotaging our defense?

Still other people say that it is imperative for U.S. monopoly capital to support Taiwan in order to maintain its investment in Taiwan. Even viewed from the interests of these U.S. investors, this kind of colonialist "reason" is also untenable. China indicated long ago that after Taiwan's return to the motherland, several matters would remain unchanged, including foreign investment. Is it not too great a risk not to depend on a country with 1 billion people but to place all the stakes on a local regime? In Shakespeare's the "Merchant of Venice" they only heeded immediate huge profits with the result that they lost their last stakes. It is believed that the astute U.S. investors will not go so far as to want to be modern "merchants of Venice."

In the final analysis, the U.S. determination to implement to so-called "Taiwan Relations Act" and to sell arms and ammunition to Taiwan is nothing but failing to awaken from an old dream to practice "two China's" and to prevent the reunification of China.

The reunification of China is a mighty torrent formed by the situation and the will of the people, which no one can resist. Subjectively speaking, people naturally hope that the friendly relations between China and the United States will be more consolidated and develop with each passing day. But the relations are bilateral, and China can do nothing if the U.S. side wants to get entangled in the Taiwan issue so that the relations between both sides retrogress. Nevertheless, it can be asserted categorically that the United States will be the first to suffer a loss in such a case.

'WEN WEI PO' ON CHINA'S MILITARY EXERCISE

HK280557 Hong Kong WEN WEI PO in Chinese 28 Sep 81 p 1

[Article by Kuan Chien-tzu [9461 6015 1311]: "The Military Exercise Is Aimed at the North, Not at the East"]

[Text] China carried out a large-scale military exercise recently in the north.

It was reported as being held "recently," but when was it exactly? According to foreign reporters, it was about 2 or 3 weeks ago, almost simultaneous with the USSR's military exercise near the Polish border.

As to "where" it was carried out, also according to foreign sources, it was somewhere near Zhangjiakou, about 90 miles northwest of Beijing.

The time and the place, especially the place, of this military exercise are very important. Zhangjiakou, which is 90 miles northwest of Beijing, was selected for this exercise. This means that the exercise was aimed at resisting the aggressors from the north and defending the capital of our great motherland.

As for the time, which was almost the same as that of the Soviet's maneuver, it was quite possibly a coincidence. This is because it would not be possible to prepare, in only a few days or a short time, for such a large-scale military exercise with 100,000 to 200,000 soldiers participating, and in which all arms of the services coordinated in military operations and took concerted actions. In other words, it would take a rather long time for the preparation, possibly 1 year or so, or at least, half a year. Besides, some preliminary exercises were also necessary. So, at the commencement of planning such a military exercise, it would have been hard to predict that the USSR would hold an exercise near the Polish border.

However, in spite of that, to carry out a grand military exercise 90 miles northwest of Beijing, especially a combat exercise with live ammunition, means the aim was clearly to fight aggressors and its resolution is also obvious.

Its significance and nature is the same as that in the launching of three manmade satellites with a rocket recently. That is, to defend the motherland and to repulse aggressors.

This is, however, entirely different from the purpose of the arms expansion and war preparations by Taiwan's KMT authorities.

The purpose of "work behind the enemy's lines on the mainland" done by Bai Wanxiang, their "specialist in mainland work," was to "advance separately and attack concentratedly," and then "regain the mainland." To sum up, it took Beijing as its target and the CCP as its enemy.

After Bai Wanxiang, there is a Zhou Yinglong [Chou Ying-lung]. This is not the historical figure Zhou Yinglong who struck Yan Song, but director of the association of cultural work of the KMT Central Committee. Though "cultural" in name, it is "military" in reality. For example, he said: "What is our common target in Taiwan, Penghu, Jinmen and Mazu, the bases for regaining the mainland?" "It is to build Taiwan and to regain the mainland."

"He [quotation marks as published] pointed out, the late President Chiang and former U.S. Secretary of State Dulles issued a joint statement which said: The motive for the ROC to regain the mainland is just to practice the three people's principles, and armed force alone should not be used to achieve this. President Chiang stressed the importance to 30 percent military force and 70 percent political work, and 30 percent direct operations and 70 percent indirect political line activities. We must follow President Chiang's teachings and realize the great goal of regaining and building the country."

As I remember, the joint statement of Dulles and Chiang Kai-shek was issued in 1958. The KMT has always borne it in mind. However, the "teachings" that should be "followed" are not only those of the "revered Chiang," but also of the "revered Dulles," because, they were in a joint statement by both Chiang and Dulles. Although, in Chinese translation, Dulles has a surname of "Du," he does not belong to China. He was the secretary of state in the United States. A KMT paper in Hong Kong once said, all foreign things are evil things. Therefore, I am not quite clear whether it is just or wrong to "regain the mainland" using the "30 percent military action" referred to in that joint statement.

Now every military action taken by the CCP aims at the struggle against hegemonism and foreign aggression; on the other hand, every action taken by the KMT aims at home, getting ready to fight a battle on the mainland.

It is better to go back to following this advice: "We are all Chinese. And the best of the 36 stratagems is making peace."

CSO: 4005/15



'WEN WEI PO' URGES TAIWAN REUNIFICATION

HK040539 Hong Kong WEN WEI PO in Chinese 4 Oct 81 p 1

[Newsletter by Li Tzu-sung: "Listen With Joy to Beijing Proposals; More Straight Talk for Taipei"]

[Text] On the eve of National Day, Beijing once again showed its friendship for Taipei. Chairman Ye issued a statement and put forth a nine-point proposal. He proposed that the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party hold talks on a reciprocal basis and carry out their third cooperation, to accomplish the great task of reunification. I listen with joy to such proposals and write this article to support the statement and once again offer my earnest advice to Taipei. [Editor's note: The author of this article published an article on 29 September entitled "My Earnest Advice for the Kuomintang in Taiwan"]

The Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party cooperated and split twice in the past. The first cooperation promoted the smooth progress of the north expedition and the second ensured the final victory of the anti-Japanese war. The splits on the two occasions harmed our country and were an invitation to foreign invaders. Cooperation was beneficial to our country, whereas splits harmed our nation. Are not all these still fresh in our minds?

When a large enemy force of a powerful neighboring country in the north is bearing down upon the border, if the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party fail to abandon their former hatred and to foster cordial relations and cooperate again, they will not go against the old sayings "when brothers are at odds, outsiders will take advantage to insult the family," but also fail to realize the desire of millions upon millions of our compatriots who earnestly hope that China will be peacefully reunited and that the Chinese nation will prosper. The leaders of the Chinese Communist Party realize the importance of this matter and have time and again proposed peace talks and the practice of the "three communications." It was a pity that their proposals were rejected by the Kuomintang authorities. The proposals raised by Chairman Ye this time are more specific and explicit and imbued with a spirit of broadmindedness and lenience. Therefore, once the proposals were raised, they were welcomed by people from various quarters.

The Chinese Communist Party will treat members of the Kuomintang on an equal footing and maintain the status quo of Taiwan. Once the nation is unified, Taiwan will be



allowed to establish a special administrative zone which enjoys a high degree of autonomy and keeps its armed forces. Taiwan's economic system, way of life and economic relations with foreign countries will remain unchanged. The central government will not interfere in Taiwan's local affairs. People from the Taiwan authorities and people whose ancestral home is Taiwan may hold leading posts in the central government. All this is evidently different from the way the Kuomintang treated the communists when the two parties carried out their second cooperation.

Therefore, there is no reason for the Kuomintang to refuse to conscientiously consider and positively respond to the nine-point proposal for the benefit of the public and individuals as well as the party and the nation.

However, to our regret, the Kuomintang authorities rashly rejected the proposals without serious consideration. When dealing with this matter, why were they swayed by personal feelings?

Leaders of the Kuomintang might probably think that peace talks will "make them suffer." At present, the Kuomintang leaders can still take advantage of the turbulent international situation to survive. Why should they accept the peace talk proposals? They also think that with the help of foreign forces, they can wait for an opportunity to launch a "counterattack" and "recover the mainland," so why should they take part in peace talks. All these are actually unrealistic notions. The present situation will never permit some people to turn Taiwan into an "unsinkable aircraft carrier." In the meantime, do we believe that the historical event "the Huihe nationality helped the Tang dynasty without taking its own interests into account" will re-occur today, 1,000 years after the event?

Once foreign forces invade China, they will attack both the mainland and Taiwan. The broad masses of people in the mainland can resist the invaders everywhere. Taiwan is isolated and located in the sea. Can it defend itself by entirely relying on its own efforts? If Taiwan is unfortunately occupied by the enemy, the leaders of the Kuomintang will not have any "retreat" and will eventually become criminals in history who ruin the territory of the motherland.

If the Taiwan authorities truly accept the peace talk proposals and promote the reunification, defense and foreign affairs will be planned by the central government as a whole. The Kuomintang leaders working in the central government can also take part in formulating the plans. Under such circumstances, foreign careerists will not be able to meddle in Taiwan's internal affairs. It will be difficult for the "Taiwan independence" elements to carry out their activities. Natural resources such as oil, coal and other minerals which Taiwan needs for its own construction will be supplied by the mainland. There is no need for Taiwan to seek help from distant foreign countries. If Taiwan has any financial difficulties, it will also be subsidized by the central government. As a result of this, Taiwan will truly have hopes and bright prospects. Otherwise, it will always seek help from foreign countries and be slavishly dependent on and controlled by others. There will be no end of trouble for the future.

"Blood is thicker than water." We are all flesh and blood and the descendants of the yellow emperor. Why should we not end our enstrangement and help each other to overcome difficulties? Did the leaders of the Kuomintang not say: "The problems

of the Chinese should be solved by the Chinese themselves?" Why should they not put the problems on the conference table? The Kuomintang leaders also said that the mainland should learn from Taiwan in "economic affairs." Why should they oppose the "three communications?" If they oppose exchange, how is it possible for the mainland to "learn from Taiwan?"

The Kuomintang leaders only say that the three people's principles are good and communism is bad. However, Dr Sun Yat-sen favored communism and refuted anticommunist speeches and views. If the Kuomintang intends to evaluate the advantages and disadvantages of certain doctrines on the conference table, I believe that they will be allowed to do so. However, we should neither distort the three people's principles nor vilify communism. The theory of colonialist economy should never be regarded as the content of the three people's principles. This is a matter which merits the attention of those who support the three people's principles. Truth becomes clearer through debate. Why should we not sit together and calmly present the facts and reason things out?

The Kuomintang leaders should patiently listen to Chairman Ye's invaluable advice. He said: I hope that the Kuomintang will abandon former hatred and work hand in hand with us to jointly accomplish the great task of reunification and realize the plan of vigorously promoting the prosperity of the Chinese nation. To bring honor to our ancestors and happiness to our future generations, I believe that if Mr Chiang Ching-kuo is willing to reconsider Chairman Ye's speech and cherish the memory of the 1911 revolution led by Mr Sun Yat-sen and the merits and achievements of our martyrs, he will eventually realize the importance of the matter and courageously join the great task of realizing reunification.

I predict that the day will soon come when we can listen again to the songs sung during the anti-Japanese war:

"The Kuomintang and the communist party are fighting on the same front to contribute all their efforts...."

Let us sing for the unity of the whole people and the reunification of the entire nation, and contribute all our efforts!

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**'WENWEI PO' PRAISES COMPATRIOTS' EFFORTS ON REUNIFICATION**

HK040702 Hong Kong WEN WEI PO in Chinese 4 Oct 81 p 2

[Editorial: "Make Contributions to the Peaceful Reunification--Beijing Highly Praises Contributions Made by Hong Kong Macao Compatriots"]

[Text] After Chairman Ye Jianying put forth the nine-point proposal concerning the return of Taiwan to the motherland, at the National Day reception held in Beijing, Premier Zhao Zhiyang again called on the Taiwan authorities to value the national interest above everything else and carry out the third cooperation between the Kuomintang and the communist party.

Beijing has placed great hopes on the efforts exerted by Hong Kong and Macao compatriots in the reunification of our country. When proposing a toast at the reception, Zhao Zhiyang highly praised the contributions made by Hong Kong and Macao compatriots and overseas Chinese to the nation over the past half century. He said: "This year we shall mark the 70th anniversary of the 1911 revolution. Our compatriots in Hong Kong and Macao and overseas Chinese made contributions to the 1911 revolution. Over the past 70 years they have also made contributions to the revolutionary cause of the Chinese people, to the founding of the People's Republic of China and to the socialist construction of the motherland. I wish to express our sincere thanks to them for all this."

During the 1911 revolution, the strikes held in Guangdong Province and Hong Kong, the war of resistance against Japan, the founding of new China and various periods of socialist construction, compatriots in Hong Kong and Macao and overseas Chinese held high the banner of patriotism and did some beneficial work for the vigorous promotion of the prosperity of the Chinese nation and the progress of history. Over a long time in the past, Hong Kong was a place where people with lofty ideals and ardent young people carried out various patriotic activities.

Sun Yat-sen, Soong Ching Ling and Zhou Enlai pursued patriotic activities in Hong Kong in their early years. In the 1980's, Hong Kong compatriots are shouldering the great historical task of the return of Taiwan to the motherland. Hong Kong will play the role of a bridge which links the mainland with China. So long as Hong Kong compatriots and overseas Chinese work with one heart and one mind and do more work to promote the peace talks between the Kuomintang and the communist party and their third cooperation, they will write a new and patriotic page in the history of the reunification of the motherland.

At present, Hong Kong has established frequent economic, cultural and sports relations with Taiwan and with the mainland. A great number of Hong Kong compatriots have friends and relatives living in the mainland and Taiwan. Although it is difficult for Taiwan compatriots to get visas to visit the mainland for the time being, it is convenient for them to come to Hong Kong. Family letters between people in the mainland and Taiwan can be transferred by their friends and relatives in Hong Kong. Unofficial entrepot trade between Taiwan and the mainland has increased year by year. In this respect, Hong Kong has played a part of transfer post.

Beijing hopes that Taiwan will return to the motherland so as to accomplish the great task of reunification. This is a firm and unremitting policy. While talking with foreign guests, Deng Xiaoping pointed out: Beijing does not expect that after hearing Ye Jianying's nine-point proposals, the Taiwan authorities will immediately express their desire for peace talks. Before the peace talks, Beijing will exercise patience and let people of all walks of life in Taiwan understand the mainland more thoroughly. In so doing, the two sides will clear up their misunderstanding and doubts.

Taiwan and the mainland have been separated for 32 years because of hostility. We are all Chinese. Why should we not be tolerant and understand each other and remove our previous misunderstandings and misgivings? Hong Kong compatriots should do their best to do more work beneficial to peaceful reunification, promote understanding between the two sides and create the friendly and relaxed atmosphere needed on the eve of the peace talks between the Kuomintang and the communist party. They can also make contributions to enhancing national feelings on both sides of the straits and promoting the "three communications."

The Soviet Union has deployed more than a million troops in the north, and Vietnam, the small hegemonist, is coveting the Xisha and Nansha islands of China. If the Kuomintang and the communist party split, foreign enemies take advantage of this weak point. As long as they work hand in hand, the country will prosper and be strong enough to curb the ambition of the hegemonists. Therefore, the efforts of the Hong Kong compatriots in the task of peaceful reunification will be beneficial not only to our country and nation, but also to peace and stability in the Far East and to industry and commerce in Hong Kong itself.

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'WEN WEI PO' ON TAIWAN'S REUNIFICATIONS

HK270315 Hong Kong WEN WEI PO in Chinese 27 Sep 81 p 1

[Article by Kuan Chien-tzu: "Does the World See and Hear? The Chinese See and Hear!"]

[Text] It is interesting that the Taiwan authorities attach importance to "what the world sees and hears," and are mortally afraid of "confusing public opinion."

Sun Yun-hsuan, president of Taiwan's executive branch, stated his view in this respect: "The Chinese Communist Party has tried, by hook or by crook, on several occasions to implement the policy of the united front toward us. Its aim is nothing more than confusing public opinion and sabotaging the unity of our compatriots both at home and abroad."

When answering questions raised by correspondents, Liu Ta-jen, "spokesman of the Taiwan Foreign Ministry," said: The purpose of the Chinese Communist Party in commemorating the 1911 revolution "is to scheme against us and confuse foreign personages."

Not long ago, Taiwan officials such as Sung Chu-yu and Pai Wan-hsiang also sang the same tune.

Their stereotyped expressions are nothing but "world opinion" and "foreign personages." However, they forget that the Chinese see and hear.

I cannot but ask: Why are you so afraid of "world opinion" but so indifferent to public opinion at home? Why do you only concern yourselves with what foreigners see and hear, but turn a deaf ear to what the Chinese see and hear? Actually, we can exist without foreigners, but we cannot live without our compatriots.

Have the Taiwan authorities established so many "international relations?" No, not at all. What is really meant by "public opinion" or linked to their existence is probably no more than the United States, because it has formulated the "Taiwan relations act." This "Taiwan relations act" was unilaterally worked out by the United States and imposed on China's territory--Taiwan. This is a favor bestowed on the Kuomintang, which means that the United States and Taiwan are still emotionally attached to each other. Their present deal includes selling some weapons, doing some business and private intercourse and so forth.



When Reagan came to power, he made a big fuss about the "Taiwan relations act" and chanted it again and again. The Kuomintang was particularly happy about this and placed "great hope" in the Reagan Administration. As a result, the 12th congress of the Kuomintang heaped abuse on the "three communications" and scolded "peace talks and cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party." In so doing, the Kuomintang has tried to "favorably affect" U.S. "public opinion" so that the "Americans can know what's what" and rest assured.

The reason why the Kuomintang has repeatedly accused the Chinese Communist Party of "confusing world opinion" is to assure the Americans that it will not waver. Therefore, it has to assert its sincerity.

Actually, the Chinese Communist Party has only raised the proposal of peace talks and has never said that the Kuomintang has accepted the proposal or that there is any intercourse between the two sides. The Chinese Communist Party is always open and aboveboard in its words and deeds. Why should the Kuomintang be so surprised or alarmed?

However, we have paid attention to a matter that the Taiwan authorities have not yet commented on, "joint leadership." We have not heard any vicious slander in "President Sun's speech" and Liu Ta-jen's statement issued yesterday. What they have done in this respect so far is in accord with what the Chinese see and hear. A few days ago, we offered a piece of advice to the Taiwan authorities, asking them to wait for overall plans worked out by Beijing. This is in the interest of the Taiwan authorities. According to reports issued by foreign news agencies in Beijing yesterday, diplomats in the Chinese capital have been informed that Beijing will make an important announcement on 9 October. Diplomatic sources guess that the announcement must be connected with the overall plans for "peace talks and cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party." This matter is closely connected with the opinion of 1 billion Chinese in the mainland and Taiwan and millions of overseas Chinese abroad. The Taiwan authorities should on no account regard this matter as unimportant.

Before Beijing makes this important announcement, if the Taiwan authorities intend to cater to the opinion of the Americans by uttering refutations or asserting their sincerity, they are allowed to sing the old tunes such as "using the three people's principles to unify China" or "exposing the communist peaceful offensive and united front plot" to "make up the number" or fob the Americans off. We have got used to hearing this old tune and will not blame you for it.

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## GUANGDONG CRACKS TAIWAN SPECIAL AGENT CASES

HK200237 Hong Kong WEN WEI PO in Chinese 20 Sep 81 p 1

[Report: "Guangzhou Cracks Many Taiwan Special Agent Cases"]

[Text] Guangzhou, 19 Sep--Public security organs in Guangdong Province have recently cracked many Kuomintang special agent cases, and a number of special agents sent by the secret service and spies recruited in China have been caught one after another and dealt with according to law.

To sabotage the four modernizations in Mainland China and obstruct the great cause of reunification of Taiwan and the motherland, the Taiwan Kuomintang Secret Service has continued this year to send spies to the mainland through various channels and by every means to carry out various kinds of sabotage activities. Instigated and lured by the Kuomintang Secret Service, Lin Guochuan (his ancestral home is Chaoyang) recruited Lin Shuli, Huang Xiongxi and Chen Zhenlong into the spy organization. They time and again sent intelligence, written in invisible ink, to the secret service and accepted funds for carrying out their activities. Lin Guochuan was appointed head of the transport corps and a deputy to the "Kuomintang 12th congress." Last last March, he tried to escape to Hong Kong and then go over to Taiwan. His criminal case was investigated and verified by Chaoyang public security bureau and he was arrested and dealt with according to law in early April.

The Kuomintang Secret Service has also resorted to coercion and blandishment to recruit people who escaped to Hong Kong and Macao into the spy organizations, and has even released criminals in Taiwan and sent them to the mainland. Zhang Lan, a spy sent to China, was formerly imprisoned in Taiwan for robbery and larceny. When he was serving the sentence, he was recruited by the Kuomintang Secret Service into the spy organization. After training, he slipped into Hong Kong from Taiwan under the escort of a spy in mid-June. Disguising himself as a Hong Kong compatriot, he slipped into Guangzhou, Hunan and other places to establish relations with other people by means of giving dinners and sending expensive gifts. In so doing, he tried to hold his ground, lie low for a long time, expand his spy organizations, collect intelligence and establish armed guerrilla bases. Early April, after careful investigations, the public security bureau of Guangzhou Municipality arrested him according to law.

Awed by the power of the people's democratic dictatorship and influenced by the policy of the people's government, some spies have surrendered of their own accord.

Ye Zuoshuang, a former member of Shanghu Commune of Lufeng County, escaped to Hong Kong in January last year. After joining the Kuomintang Secret Service, he mingled with illegal immigrants to be repatriated to China by the British authorities in Hong Kong and was sent back to his ancestral home. He repeatedly sent intelligence on the mainland's political and military affairs to the secret service. In early July, he surrendered himself to the public security organ of Lufeng County of his own accord, and was dealt with leniently by the government.

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'WEN WEI PO' CARRIES SPECIAL FEATURE TO KMT

HK290940 Hong Kong WEN WEI PO in Chinese 29 Sep 81 p 1

[Special Feature by Li Tzu-sung [2621 1311 6139]: "Sincere, Straight Talk to the Kuomintang in Taiwan"]

[Text] It will be the 70th anniversary of the 1911 revolution 10 days from now. People at home and abroad, on the mainland and in Taiwan, will all hold ceremonies to solemnly mark the occasion. This shows that Dr Sun Yat-sen's merits in leading the 1911 revolution are universally revered. All compatriots and overseas Chinese--descendants of Huang Di--echo each other and share the same desire. This promises unity and prosperity. Being a veteran journalist and a member of the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee, [Editor: The author is a member of the Central Committee of the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee and a member of the national CPPCC.] I would like to take this opportunity to offer a sincere, straight talk to the KMT in Taiwan on the question of peaceful reunification.

Peaceful reunification is indeed a major task today. It is the trend of the times and the desire of the people. No one can stop it and no one can go against it. Therefore, when the Taiwan authorities persist in rejecting peaceful reunification, repeating the "three no's," they in fact are thrown off balance and are unable to hold their own. Some public figures are singing all by themselves the song of "unifying China with the three people's principles." They little imagine that this has given them away. Since the KMT rightists who have been in power until now, they have never practiced the three people's principles either on the mainland or in Taiwan. [Sentenced as received] Since they have been in Taiwan, they have been relying upon foreign strength to maintain a separatist rule. This goes diametrically against nationalism. The Taiwan authorities are boasting that they have done a good job in economy because they have put the three people's principles into effect. Nevertheless, the economy in Hong Kong and Singapore is not bad either. May we ask what kind of principles have been practiced there? I am afraid no answer can be given by them.

On the other hand, the CCP on the mainland has indeed "struggled to thoroughly realize the three people's principles." Dr Sun Yat-sen's great ideals have all been realized. Although a detour to a certain extent has been traversed in the course of building socialism, a foundation has been built for construction, and the four modernizations are underway. The prestige of China is ever increasing. This is recognized by the whole world.

If KMT public figures think that they can stop the criticism and comments of millions of people and achieve the effects of a "psychological war" by paying lip service to the three people's principles and by abusing communism, they are indeed blind to the situation and are employing poor tactics!

Here I venture to offer them a suggestion. The best thing for the KMT to do is to unify its will and actions on the basis of the three people's principles in order to realize Premier Sun's aspirations and to realize his hope of striving for peaceful reunification expressed when he went to Beijing.

It is strange that for decades the KMT rulers have been publishing big volumes of "The Collected Works of Premier Sun Yat-sen," "The Collected Works of Sun Yat-sen" and "The Collected Works of the National Father" as well as works on Sun Yat-sen's principles. A commemoration week has also been held year after year and the "premier's will" has been repeated thousands of times. We can understand a person by reading his books. Superficially, they are indeed extremely diligent and respectful! But in fact, an entirely different result has turned out. Are they not attentive in reading these books so that what they have read disappears like water flowing down a duck's back? Or are they unable to profit from what they have read because they have read something which they do not agree?

Dr Sun Yat-sen once solemnly stated: The KMT should not oppose the CCP and should not oppose communism. He said, "Because many comrades oppose the CCP, they have gone so far as to say that communism is different from the three people's principles and that it is enough to practice the three people's principles in China and communism is intolerable." He frankly held, "the principle of the people's livelihood is communism and is socialism." "...Communism and the principle of the people's livelihood do not conflict at all and they are compatible at that." He went on to ask, "Since communism is compatible with the principle of the people's livelihood, why do KMT members oppose the CCP?" The aforesaid quotations can be found in "The Second Talk on the Principle of the People's Livelihood." KMT members should always keep them in mind.

However, though the speaker talked with great earnest, the audience paid little attention. The KMT rightists had never listened to Premier Sun's admonitions and obstinately opposed the CCP and communism. Today, they brazenly demanded that the CCP abolish communism. Can such KMT members be considered as apostles of Premier Sun and apostles of the three people's principles?

Not long after Dr Sun Yat-sen passed away, the KMT issued the "Declaration on Accepting the Premier's Will," expressing: We are ready to struggle for national equality and the independence of the country in order to realize the premier's aspirations. We are also ready to integrate sincerely with comrades who accept the premier's principles and policies and make common efforts in revolutionary construction. When their words were still ringing in people's ears and in the course of the northern expedition, the KMT no longer wanted any "sincere integration" but went so far as to spare none of its good friends fighting on the same front--the CCP!

The responsibility of the split between the KMT and the CCP on two occasions did not lie with the CCP but with the KMT. In the past, they made pledges before the premier's portrait but late they went back on their words. They are indeed inconsistent!



Facts have proved that KMT-CCP cooperation is in the interest of the nation whereas a split is harmful to it. Today, the Soviet Union has deployed a million troops along our border and confrontation between the two sides of the Taiwan strait still remains. If this goes on, the security of the country is endangered and the construction of the country is greatly hampered. How can we then resist foreign aggression and make our country prosper together?! This is the reason why a CCP leader hopes that peaceful reunification can be realized at an early date. He expressed that the two parties could lead together. His sincerity in discussing national issues and his open-mindedness are similar to Dr Sun Yat-sen's manner and aspiration.

In those days, Dr Sun Yat-sen proposed convening a national assembly in order to abolish the unequal treaties and to promote peaceful reunification. If KMT public figures sincerely and seriously review the premier's will, they will wake up to reality and will put the national cause before other things and have the people's desire in mind.

Let bygones be bygones and act more wisely in the future. It is not yet too late for Mr Chiang Ching-kuo to make a change. It seems that conditions for a third KMT-CCP cooperation and peaceful reunification will soon ripen!

Do not let such a golden opportunity slip by!

CSO: 4005/15

#### BRIEFS

GUANGZHOU ARMY PARADE--Guangzhou, 27 Sep--The army, navy and air force in Guangzhou will hold grand and solemn celebration activities on National Day. A number of main roads in the city will be closed to traffic on the morning of National Day. According to observers here, the PLA may hold a grand parade in Guangzhou during the festival. The departments concerned have announced that Zhongshan third and fourth roads, Dongchuan road and Wende North road will be closed to traffic from 08.00 to 11.30 hours on 1 October. Buses and trolleybuses will be diverted. It is also reported that the National Day holiday in Guangzhou will last 3 days. According to a circular issued by the provincial people's government, 1 and 2 October will be National Day holidays, the usual Sunday holiday will be moved to 3 October (Saturday), and normal work will resume on 4 October (Sunday). [Text] [HK280320 Hong Kong TA KUNG PAO in Chinese 28 Sep 81 p 2]

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## REPORTAGE ON CHEN WEN-CHEN'S DEATH

'XINHUA' Cites 'UPI'

OW261300 Beijing XINHUA in English 1238 GMT 26 Sep 81

[Text] Beijing, 26 September (XINHUA)--The death of Chen Wen-chen, professor of Carnegie-Mellon University, in Taiwan was found to be a homicide, according to UPI report quoting findings by a U.S. forensic pathologist and a professor after a trip to Taiwan recently.

Speaking to reporters on the Carnegie-Mellon University campus Thursday just hours after arriving back in Pittsburgh from a trip to Taipei, Allegheny County Commissioner Cyril Wecht, a former county coroner and current county democratic party chairman, said, "I can say without any equivocation whatsoever that I have no doubt that this was not a suicide."

Morris Degroot, Chen's colleague in the university's statistics department who went to Taipei with Wecht, said to reporters that "no one we talked to believed Chen committed suicide. No one offered a plausible explanation for an accidental death.... It is our belief that Dr Chen's death was murder."

Present at the press conference was President Richard Cyert of Carnegie-Mellon University who arranged for the university to finance the trip.

Wecht performed a second autopsy on Chen's body while in Taiwan. He said he believed the body landed too close to the base of the library building for it to have been suicide. Chen did not have the kind of injuries on his hands, feet, arms, legs and head usually suffered by people who jump from high places, he added.

Chen "could have been held in a lateral position and dropped" to the ground, he said.

Wecht said his findings on the physical evidence did not vary from anything found by the Taiwanese coroner who performed the first autopsy. However, he said, their conclusions were not the same.

Degroot said he found on the trip nothing to dispel his belief that "some parts of the (Taiwanese) Government might be involved in his (Chen's) death."

Taiwan Compatriots Express 'Indignation'

OW300055 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1434 GMT 29 Sep 81

[Text] Beijing, 29 Sep (XINHUA)--All members attending the preparatory committee meeting of the National Taiwan Compatriots Association expressed extreme indignation over the Taiwan authorities' still trying to conceal the truth about the Chen Wen-cheng case. They also expressed deep sympathy with and sent best regards to innocent victim Chen Wen-cheng's family and voiced resolute support of the Taiwan compatriots residing in the United States, in their just action protesting the Taiwan authorities' secret agents carrying out persecution activities on U.S. campuses.

All members of the preparatory committee for the National Taiwan Compatriots Association strongly demanded that the Taiwan authorities make a responsible explanation of Chen Wen-cheng's death as soon as possible and that they resolutely guard against the occurrence of similar incidents and ensure the democratic rights and safety of those Taiwan compatriots who have returned to Taiwan to visit their relatives.

CSO: 4005/14

## YE JIANYING STATEMENT ON REUNIFICATION SUPPORTED

### Trade Union Leaders

OW021534 Beijing XINHUA in English 1523 GMT 2 Oct 81

[Text] Beijing, 2 October (XINHUA)--Leaders of the all-China Federation of Trade Unions expressed their support of Chairman Ye Jianying's nine-point statement on the peaceful return of Taiwan to the motherland and pledged to mobilize the workers throughout the country to unite for the reunification. The support was voiced at a meeting now in session of the federation's executive committee.

Zhu Xuefan, vice-president of the federation said Chairman Ye had officially proposed that the Chinese Communist Party and the Kuomintang should cooperate for the third time to realize the reunification of the motherland.

"This is very reasonable," he said, "cooperation between the Kuomintang and the communist party was initiated by Dr Sun Yat-sen." He hoped men of insight among the Taiwan authorities and also Chiang Ching-kuo will positively respond and do their share in accomplishing the great cause of reunification of the motherland.

Wang Chonglun, a national model worker and also vice-president of the federation said Chairman Ye's statement has voiced the workers' innermost feelings.

"We hope the workers and staffs in Taiwan will respond positively so as to contribute to the reunification of the motherland," he said, "we welcome the workers in Taiwan to come to the mainland for sightseeing or to visit their relatives. We also welcome them to make proposals and suggestions regarding the affairs of the state through various channels and in various ways."

Lu Wen, president of the national committee of the postal and telecommunications workers' trade union, said, "relatives separated by Taiwan straits have missed each other for several decades." He said there should be an end to the mail embargo between Taiwan and the mainland. He said the postal and telecommunications workers on the mainland are longing to send family letters to the people of various nationalities in Taiwan.



## Taiwan Compatriots

OW010545 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1637 GMT 30 Sep 81

[Text] Beijing, 30 Sep (XINHUA)--Today, immediately after hearing the broadcast of the statement made by Ye Jianying, chairman of the NPC Standing Committee, in an interview with XINHUA, members of the preparatory committee for the National Taiwan Compatriot Friendship Association gathered for a discussion of the statement, vying to voice their wholehearted support for the policy as further explained by Chairman Ye concerning the return of Taiwan to the motherland for the realization of China's peaceful reunification. They pledged to hold the banner of patriotism high and to contribute their share to the great cause of reunifying the motherland.

Lin Liyun, member of the NPC Standing Committee and chairman of the preparatory committee for the National Taiwan Compatriot Friendship Association, said: Chairman Ye's statement fully shows the sincerity of the CCP and the government of the motherland in solving the Taiwan issue peacefully and their full respect for the wishes of compatriots of all nationalities in Taiwan. Deeply inspired, we Taiwanese compatriots living in the motherland are determined to unite with people of all nationalities and of all circles in Taiwan and strive to end the unfortunate separation of the Chinese nation as soon as possible and to realize Taiwan's return to the motherland at an early date.

Lin Chaoquan [2651 2600 2938], vice chairman of the preparatory committee for the National Taiwan Compatriot Friendship Association and a veteran Taiwanese athlete who is now 75 years old, said: It has been more than 30 years since I left Taiwan. I miss my relatives, friends and colleagues in Taiwan day and night. I believe that Chairman Ye's statement will surely play an immense role in promoting the early realization of the exchange of mail, trade and air and shipping services, as well as academic, cultural and sports exchanges between the two sides of the Taiwan straits. I constantly look forward to seeing my colleagues in Taiwan's sports circles exchange visits with athletes in the motherland and my relatives and friends come to visit their kinsfolk and friends here.

Lin Shengzhong [2651 4141 0022], member of the National Committee of the CPPCC and who came from the United States to settle in the motherland in 1972, said: Because of the long separation, quite a number of Taiwan compatriots lack understanding of the situation here and some of them even have doubts about the policy of the government of the motherland. I am convinced that after hearing Chairman Ye's further explanation of the fair and reasonable policy, Taiwan compatriots living both on the island and abroad are bound to discard their doubts and boldly devote as much effort as they can to the great cause of reunifying the motherland.

Also speaking at the discussion meeting were Dong Ke [5516 0344], vice chairman of the Preparatory Committee; Ye Renshou, Feng Yanhuo and Jiang Shuisheng, deputies to the NPC; Xu Zhaolin, member of the National Committee of the CPPCC; and Liu Min [0491 2494, member of the National Youth Federation.

Former KMT General Zheng Dongguo

OW032115 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0227 GMT 3 Oct 81

[Text] Beijing, 3 Oct (XINHUA)--In an interview with a XINHUA reporter, Zheng Dongguo, former KMT ranking general, standing committee member of the National CPPCC Committee and vice chairman of the Central Committee of the KMT Revolutionary Committee, said: The policy concerning the return of Taiwan to the motherland as elaborated by Chairman Ye is fair and reasonable and shows the utmost tolerance and patience. I hope that the Taiwan authorities will cast off previous ill feelings and lose no time in responding to the call for the sake of the interests of the Chinese nation and the early reunion of long separated relatives.

Zheng Dongguo said: I still have some former colleagues and old friends in Taiwan. They also have deep love for their nation. Because of historical reasons, they cannot make efforts for the development of the nation. They have been separated from their relatives residing on the mainland for 32 years. They painfully yearn to meet their relatives again. Many of them have already died still holding grudges and were buried in a strange land. Now the CCP is open and aboveboard and sincerely proposes cooperation with the KMT for the third time, I hope my former colleagues and old friends in Taiwan will actively respond to the call and make contributions to the great cause of the motherland's reunification.

Former KMT General Lam Sum Lee

OW041546 Beijing XINHUA in English 1520 GMT 4 Oct 81

[Text] Beijing, 4 October (XINHUA)--Former Kuomintang Lieutenant General Lam Sum Lee said here today that the policy concerning the peaceful return of Taiwan to the motherland expounded by Chairman Ye Jiaoping is very concrete and touching and it will produce a great impact.

He made this comment at a meeting this afternoon with Ping Jiesan and Li Gui, deputy heads of the united front work department of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee.

Lam Sum Lee said negotiations between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party for cooperation accord with the will of the people and the general trend of history. "It will be wise for the Kuomintang authorities to sum up historical experiences and cooperate with the Communist Party for a third time," he said.

After the meeting Ping Jiesan and Li Gui hosted a dinner for Lam Sum Lee and his wife Mary Kuo Lee.

The couple arrived here 2 October from Washington to take part in the commemorative activities for the 70th anniversary of the 1911 Revolution.

#### Former KMT Governor

OW030142 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1228 GMT 2 Oct 81

[Text] Beijing, 2 Oct (XINHUA)--Dong Qiwu, former governor of the Kuomintang's [KMT] Suiyuan Province who once led his troops in an uprising with Sun Lanfen and later accepted the offer for a peaceful reorganization, expressed his opinion to a XINHUA reporter on Chairman Ye Jianying's statement with regard to Taiwan's return to the embrace of the motherland and the realization of peaceful reunification. He hoped that the Taiwan authorities would lose no time in responding to Chairman Ye's statement and joins their efforts in accomplishing the great cause for the reunification of the motherland.

Dressed in olive green military uniform, Dong Qiwu received the XINHUA reporter in his study. Although he is over 80, he remains very healthy. With Chairman Ye's statement in his hand, he said: "Chairman Ye's statement represents the common aspirations of the people of all nationalities in the country including the Taiwan compatriots and overseas Chinese. I believe that the Taiwan authorities' understanding that the return of Taiwan to the motherland is an evitable historical trend accords with the will of the people."

Mentioning Huang Zhicheng who crossed over to the mainland with his plane not long ago, Dong Qiwu said: Huang Zhicheng's patriotic action is not an isolated incident. It represents the aspirations of the people on both sides of the Taiwan strait.

He said meaningfully: One's life is limited by time, while history is not. I hope that the Taiwan authorities will give this matter careful consideration and act wisely and patriotically.

#### Former KMT Officers

OW022026 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1224 GMT 2 Oct 81

[Text] Beijing, 2 Oct (XINHUA)--Former Kuomintang navy and air force personnel who defected to the communist side and are currently holding leading posts in the PLA navy and air force units held discussion meetings or issued statements warmly supporting Chairman Ye Jianying's statement further explaining the principle and policy concerning Taiwan's return to the motherland and the realization of China's peaceful reunification. They hoped their former colleagues now in Taiwan will jointly struggle for the accomplishment of the great cause of the motherland's reunification.

At these discussion meetings, Wu Dingguo, former executive committee member of the Kuomintang military vessel "Chongqing"; Chen Qichuan, former sailor of the Kuomintang naval vessel "Lingfu"; and others said that Chairman Ye's statement fully reflects the desire and fundamental interests of the Chinese people of all nationalities, including our compatriots in Taiwan, and has amply demonstrated the Chinese Communist Party's sincerity in wanting to reunify the motherland. The nine-point proposal is a policy which sets store by the overall national interests and complies with the common aspiration of the people. They hoped that the Taiwan authorities will also comply with the popular feeling and respond actively to the proposal.

Den Zhaoxiang, NPC deputy, deputy commander of the PLA Navy North China Sea Fleet and former captain of the Kuomintang navy cruiser "Chongqing," said that the nine-point proposal presented by Chairman Ye Jianying to the Taiwan authorities is quite fair and reasonable. The Taiwan authorities should comply with the popular feeling by making a positive response. He told his old friends and former colleagues in Taiwan that Chairman Ye has proposed: "After the country is reunited, Taiwan can enjoy a high degree of autonomy as a special administrative region and retain its armed forces." After the realization of the great cause of the motherland's reunification, I hope my former colleagues and old friends currently working in Taiwan's navy will make a joint contribution to building a powerful navy for the motherland. I miss my former acquaintance in Taiwan very much and hope we can work hand in hand in jointly struggling for the realization of the great cause of the reunification of the motherland.

#### Chinese Residents of Japan

OW011306 Beijing XINHUA in English 1248 GMT 1 Oct 81

[Text] Tokyo, 30 September (XINHUA)--Huang Wen-Chin, vice-chairman of the Tokyo Association of Chinese Residents, told XINHUA that Chairman of the Standing Committee of the Chinese National People's Congress Ye Jianying's elaboration on the policy concerning the return of Taiwan to the motherland for the realization of China's peaceful reunification would win popular support, and would be welcomed by the overseas Chinese including the compatriots in Taiwan.

At a banquet given today by Chinese residents in Yokohama to celebrate China's National Day, he stressed that the Kuomintang of China should respond to the proposal and hold negotiations as soon as possible with the Communist Party of China. It is the Chinese people's common desire to realize cooperation between the two parties, he added.

He said "it is of greater significance that Ye Jianying's statement was made on the eve of the 70th anniversary of [the] 1911 Revolution. During his lifetime, Dr Sun Yat-sen hoped to turn China into a united and strong country. Today's proposal is precisely to realise cooperation between the Chinese Communist Party and Kuomintang as advocated by Dr Sun Yat-sen."

Tan Jinji, honorary chairman of the Yokohama Association of Chinese Residents, said with deep emotion, "Chairman Ye's statement conforms completely to the interest of the Chinese nation. It should be materialized. Since the two parties cooperated twice in the past to save the nation, then why is it not possible for them to cooperate for a third time?"

When a Chinese girl sang the song "people of Taiwan, our own brothers," an enthusiastic applause burst out at the dinner party.

The 73-year old Chinese resident Xie Tian told the correspondent with tears, "The overseas Chinese have long expected a day to see the motherland's reunification."



## Chinese Residents of Thailand

OW031230 Beijing XINHUA in English 1211 GMT 3 Oct 81

[Text] Bangkok, 3 October (XINHUA)--The statement on the return of Taiwan to the motherland for the realization of China's peaceful reunification, made by Ye Jianying, chairman of the standing committee of the Chinese National People's Congress, on 30 September was appraised by the Thai people of Chinese origin and Chinese residents in Thailand.

Amporn Bulpakdi, president of the Thai-Chinese Chamber of Commerce, said that the principle on the reunification of China proposed by Ye Jianying is fair and reasonable and is in accord with the desire of all the Chinese people and Chinese residents abroad. "We hope that the Kuomintang of China and the Communist Party of China make a common effort for success," he added.

Kiatti Wattanavekin, vice-president of the chamber, said: "Taiwan has been Chinese territory since ancient times and the compatriots on both sides of the Taiwan straits hope to reunify as quickly as possible. For the benefit of the well-being of the Chinese people and the prosperity of the country, the Kuomintang and the Communist Party should cooperate for the third time. It is high time now," he added.

He expressed willingness to do whatever we could for the reunion of the Chinese people on both sides of the straits.

Termsak Tangjattanon, managing director of the Phaw Leng Association of Siam (Thailand), said: "What Beijing has done is right and it is well done." "The reunification of China," he said, "is a historical trend. The Taiwan authorities should conform to and respect this fact and consider in real earnest the proposal raised by the communist side and make the correct choice without hesitation."

Chin Sophonpanich, chairman of Bangkok Bank, said: "All Chinese people hope for the reunification of their country. Although there are still difficulties at the present stage, the two parties could move step by step towards this end and try to enter into negotiation between them in a steady way. Prior to the reunification, actions may be taken in accordance with Chairman Ye Jianying's proposal, namely, making arrangements to facilitate the exchange of mails, trade, air and shipping services."

Noted Thai newsman C. Y. Woo said: "Beijing has presented the nine-point proposal after taking into consideration the existing reality of Taiwan. The Taiwan authorities should take the overall interests of China into account and accept Beijing's proposal. This is not merely a matter of one party or one faction but an issue of China as a whole." "If the Taiwan authorities consider it a propaganda," he continued, "they may turn to the talks first to see whether the mainland has the sincerity and should not reject off hand the proposal for a third-time cooperation between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang."

A Taiwan compatriot residing in Thailand, aged nearly 70, told XINHUA his hope to see the country's reunification during his remaining years. Another Taiwan compatriot, who would not disclose his identity, also expressed his hope that the Kuomintang authorities will forget previous ill will and put national interests above everything else and make positive response to the proposal of the mainland."

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## BRIEFS

COMMITTEE FETES VISITING PROFESSOR--Beijing, 30 Sep (XINHUA)--The Central Committee of the Revolutionary Committee of the Chinese Kuomintang gave a banquet on the evening of 22 September in honor of Professor Liu Wuji and his wife Madam Gao Aihong. Attending the banquet were vice chairman of the Central Committee Qu Wu, Zhu Xuefan, Qian Changzhao, Gan Cisen and Wu Maosun. Professor Liu Wuji is the eldest son of Liu Yazhi, one of the founders of the Revolutionary Committee of the Chinese Kuomintang. He was invited to China this time to participate in various activities in commemoration of the 70th anniversary of the 1911 Revolution. Also attending the banquet were Professor Liu's daughter Liu Guangnan, his younger sister Liu Wufei and others. [Text] [OW010447 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1501 GMT 30 Sep 81]

FORMER KMT PILOT--Beijing, 17 Sep (XINHUA)--Xu Tingze, a former KMT air force captain, was recently appointed to the post of vice president of a certain air force academy by the leading organ of the PLA air force. Xu Tingze crossed over in a plane from Taiwan and returned to the motherland on 1 June, 1963, and since then he had been appointed to the posts of deputy commander of a certain air force regiment and deputy chief of staff of a certain air force academy. [OW191153 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0821 GMT 17 Sep 81]

KMT DEFECTOR PROMOTED--Beijing, 19 Sep (XINHUA)--Liu Huantong, a defector from the Kuomintang air force, has recently been promoted to vice chief of staff of a PLA air force corps. Before his defection to join the PLA on 15 January 1949, he was a first lieutenant of the 20th transport group of the Kuomintang air force. After he crossed over to the PLA, he joined the CCP in 1950 and served successively as flying instructor, chief technical inspector, deputy regimental commander and deputy division commander before the recent promotion. [OW191153 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0745 GMT 19 Sep 81]

NEW ROK AMBASSADOR--Taipei, 24 Aug (CNA)--President Chiang Ching-kuo Monday received the new South Korean Ambassador Kim Chong-kon at the presidential office. The president accepted the credentials from Ambassador Kim, who was accompanied by the Foreign Ministry's protocol chief Hugh H. O'yang. Ambassador Kim conveyed President Chon Tu-hwan's regards to President Chiang. He also pledged that he will spare no efforts to further promote friendship and cooperation between the two countries. In the afternoon, Ambassador Kim called on Premier Sun Yun-hsuan at the executive yuan. They exchanged opinions on further strengthening relations between the countries. [Text] [OW250107 Taipei CNA in English 1343 GMT 24 Aug 81]

VICE JUSTICE MINISTER--Taipei, 18 Sep (CNA)--The executive yuan at its weekly meeting Thursday approved the appointment of Wang Jui-lin, 58, of Kiangsu Province, as vice minister of the Ministry of Justice. He will succeed Yang Min-tao who was appointed prosecutor of the procurator's office in the Supreme Court. The cabinet meeting also appointed Huang Chun-ying, 39, of Yunlin County, Taiwan, as vice chairman of the research, development and evaluation commission. Huang, who holds a doctorate degree in commerce, will succeed Chang Li-tang, who was appointed chairman of the ruling Kuomintang Tainan City headquarters. [Taipei CNA in English 0238 GMT 18 Sep 81 OW]

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